Faculty Agency in a U.S.-Colombia University Development Partnership: Bending Toward Justice

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Dedication

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Abstract

This dissertation explores faculty engagement at the crossroads of higher education and international development policy through a comparative case study of a U.S.-Colombia human rights university partnership. There is a tendency for ideologies, policies, and practices to flow from North to South in university development partnerships, which reinforces deeply entrenched hierarchies and structural inequalities within the global political economy. This study investigates the cumulative effect on faculty working within such partnerships. Faculty engagement is examined through interviews with faculty participants and international development specialists across five universities and two development agencies in the United States and Colombia. Interviewees reflect on faculty engagement at various stages—design, initiation, negotiation, collaboration, and conclusion—of a three-year partnership. A focus on faculty engagement—namely faculty agency perspectives and behaviors—across four dimensions—individual, institutional, partnership, and geopolitical—highlights multiple layers of influence and inequality within these partnerships. This study advances two key arguments. First, this study calls for greater attention to the role of professional capital — a product of human, social, and decisional capital—in perpetuating or overcoming inequalities within university development partnerships. Second, this study affirms the importance of empathy and the potential of individual participants to reduce and even reverse the power dynamics inherent within many North-South partnerships. Although university development partnerships do not occur on equal terrain, this study reveals opportunities for participants to make them a little more equitable and expand faculty agency in the process.

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Abbreviations

HED	Higher Education for Development
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HRP	Human Rights Partnership
IHE	Internationalization of Higher Education
UDP	University Development Partnership
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

Higher education institutions (HEIs) are facing mounting pressures to internationalize their campus, curriculum, and activities in an increasingly globalized and knowledge-based economy. Universities are tasked with preparing their students with the necessary knowledge and skills to compete in a global economy, while also contributing to social and economic development at home and abroad. These pressures are nearly universal to the extent that almost all HEIs around the world are in transition and embracing some form of internationalization (Green and Schoenberg, 2006; Forest & Altbach, 2006; Mollis, 2008).

The growing importance of internationalization of higher education (IHE) coincides with the advent of neoliberalism and subsequent decline of public funding for higher education in much of the world (Jones, 1997; Heyneman, 1994; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). Many universities in the Global North have responded to these neoliberal pressures by adopting market-like behaviors, such as competing for external funding, forming partnerships with private industries, increasing student fees, and selling educational programs and services (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997, 2001; Stromquist, 2007).[1] Many well-established and privately supported universities in the Global North have successfully positioned themselves as global education leaders and export their

[1] The terms "Global North" and "Global South" used throughout this paper represent a socio-economic and political divide rather than a strictly geographical one. The Global North represents a currently advantaged and privileged position within the current world order. It includes countries commonly described as "developed" or "first world" and spans North America, Western Europe, and much of East Asia. The Global South, by comparison, implies socio-economic and political disadvantages. The Global South encompasses countries that are considered "developing" or "third world" and includes many countries in Africa and Latin America, as well as parts of Asia and the Middle East. These terms are imperfect and problematic but are adopted in this paper due to their widespread use and generalizability.

educational programs, services, and ideas abroad. Meanwhile, many universities in the Global South, which do not have the same global reputation or access to private resources as their Northern partners, have struggled to carry out their most basic teaching and research functions when confronted with dwindling public support. Many of them continue to rely on international development assistance to help fill the funding gap.[2]

A substantial amount of international development assistance for higher education comes in the form of university development partnerships (UDPs), whereby aid agencies provide short-term funding to create partnerships between Global North and Global South universities. UDPs have emerged as a popular mechanism to support higher education while addressing social and economic development needs (Bradley, 2007; Chapman, Pekol, and Wilson, 2014). The connection is a logical one as higher education capacity-building and inter/national development are mutually supportive goals. As Knight explains, "An educated, trained, and knowledgeable citizenry and workforce and the capacity to generate new knowledge are key components of a country's nation-building agenda. But many countries lack the physical and human infrastructure and the financial resources to offer higher education opportunities to their students" (Knight, 2005, p. 19). In other words, capacity building is important for national development, but it is also difficult to achieve without a reasonable level of national development.

International development agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have funded hundreds of university development partnerships (UDPs) around the world to strengthen human and institutional capacity

[2] The terms aid, foreign aid, and international development assistance are used interchangeably throughout this paper. All of these terms describe what the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) qualifies as Official Development Assistance.

while addressing various social and economic development issues. Higher Education for Development (HED) alone supported over 350 higher education partnership projects in more than 61 countries with USAID funding since it was established in 1992 (HED, 2014). These partnerships have addressed a wide range of development issues, including human rights and democracy-building, teacher training, health education, business development, and environmental sustainability.

Research Problem

UDPs operate under the assumption that Global South universities and faculty members can build their capacity to support local development through aid-funded partnerships with Global North universities. This raises two important challenges. First, by positioning Global North universities as the capacity builders, UDPs tend to privilege Northern ideas about capacity building, knowledge production, and development. Critical development scholars (Assié-Lumumba, 2006; Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Thomas, 2013; Grant, 2014) point out that Global North and Global South universities do not collaborate on equal terms and aid-funded partnerships further exacerbate these inequalities when money, decisions, and expertise flow from North to South.

Another challenge is that UDPs place a unique burden on Global South faculty participants who are positioned as both project beneficiaries and local change agents. Placing the burden of change on Global South faculty glosses over the enormous institutional and structural barriers they face—the very constraints that human and institutional capacity-building projects attempt to address (Thomas, 2013; Maclure, 2006). While individual capacity can be developed in the short-term, institutional change takes considerably more time, usually longer than the project cycle itself. Furthermore,

the expectations placed on Global South faculty members exceed even the capacity of the institutions in which they work, as the quote below suggests.

> HEI are shaped by nation-state policies, as well as by global trends of the capitalist system. These influences on the University are much more powerful than the changes and transformations that HEI can produce inside them and within the society where they take root (Segrera, 2008, p. 16).

The above assessment calls into question whether it is reasonable to place such demands on Global South faculty members—many of whom are young instructors and lecturers with demanding teaching loads and limited opportunities for professional development—when the universities and societies in which they work and live are ill-equipped to address them. This situation also reveals a potential conflict for Global South universities and the faculty within them as they attempt to align themselves with global academic standards while serving the needs of their country.

Such circumstances highlight the importance of understanding the underlying assumptions that inform the design of UDPs, as well as the broader geopolitical context in which they occur. Of critical importance is the role of individual and collective groups of faculty members within these partnerships and how they accept or resist these assumptions and conditions as participants and agents of change. This study, therefore, explores faculty agency perspectives and behaviors in an international university development partnership.

Purpose of the Study

This study is about the faculty members who work at the crossroads of higher education and development in university development partnerships (UDPs). Using an

aid-funded human rights partnership between U.S. and Colombian universities as a case study, this study compares faculty engagement across five institutions and two countries. For the purposes of this study, faculty engagement is the participation and agency of faculty members working on a specific set of activities. By comparing faculty perspectives and behaviors across the same partnership, this study examines how faculty participants balance the competing demands of higher education and development across different institutional and geopolitical contexts.

When it comes to accessing resources, influencing the global academic discourse, and setting the development agenda, academics in the Global North have a multi-layered advantage over their partners in the Global South. Comparing the state of higher education in the Global North with Latin America, Segrera (2008) makes a similar observation:

> Universities and HE [higher education] systems in developed countries are in an advantageous position given availability of financial resources, their state-of-the-art research programmes and their privileged access to information networks. (p. 21)

In light of the current situation, Segrera finds that partnerships can enrich Latin American HEIs and faculty members under certain conditions, namely when they achieve "cooperation without subordination" (2008, p. 21). Since perspectives and self-efficacy beliefs influence actions (Bandura, 2001), the extent to which faculty members feel their engagement is meaningful matters greatly to the success of university development partnerships. In the process of exploring faculty engagement, this study also hopes to

identify opportunities for mutual learning and collaboration within university development partnerships.

Paradigm of Inquiry

Research paradigms serve as belief systems that guide the process of inquiry and discovery (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This study employs a qualitative approach to understanding faculty engagement in university development partnerships. Qualitative research is well suited for understanding the meaning individuals make of situations and events, and how individual actions are shaped by one's broader context (Maxwell, 2012). Furthermore, this study draws from a critical interpretivist perspective—a blended research paradigm that combines critical theory and interpretivism (Doolin, 1998, 2002; Thomas, 2013). Whereas interpretivists are concerned with how individuals understand and derive meaning from social phenomena, critical theorists draw attention to the broader context and inherent power relations that shape actions and understandings (Somekh & Lewin, 2011). Accordingly, critical interpretivist research seeks to describe and understand an activity or phenomenon while also questioning the power relations that characterize it (Doolin, 2002). This perspective makes it possible to "complement the thick description of interpretive research with the broader sweep of critical social theory" (Doolin, 1998, p. 301).

A critical interpretivist approach guided this study in important ways. First, it offered the following assumptions and guidelines for this study: a) individuals derive meaning from social interactions and interpret meaning in different ways; b) these interpretations influence individual behavior and actions; and c) interpretations and actions are shaped by one's historical, social, economic, and political context. These

assumptions drew the researcher's attention to how faculty members understand and engage in university partnerships for development, while also acknowledging the importance of institutional and regional differences, as well as global policy narratives about development assistance and the "knowledge economy." A critical interpretivist approach guided the literature review and conceptual framing of this study as well as the research questions.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study:

1. How do faculty members understand the opportunities and constraints of their engagement in the U.S.-Colombian human rights partnership?
    a. What factors or processes do faculty participants perceive to be most influential in their engagement?
    b. How does faculty engagement vary across and at different stages of the U.S.-Colombian human rights partnership?

The answers to these questions reveal what international partnership means and accomplishes for faculty facing very different sets of opportunities and constraints, and how faculty members act to influence desired partnership outcomes.

Significance of the Study

This study has conceptual, methodological, and practical implications within the field of comparative and international development. Conceptually, this study expands the concept of faculty community engagement by adding a critical and global dimension. This dimension is important for understanding how the willingness and ability of faculty to participate in university development partnerships (UDPs) may differ across and in

relation to different institutional and geopolitical environments. Methodologically, this study demonstrates the value of examining faculty engagement vertically (across geopolitical and power differences), horizontally (across different institutional and sociocultural contexts and for the duration of the partnership), and transversally (by giving due attention to historical influences) to understand faculty opportunities and constraints within university development partnerships (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006; Bartlett and Vavrus, 2014, 2017). This study also offers insight into the practical challenges of externally-driven academic collaborations across different institutional and geopolitical contexts.

University development partnerships are an increasingly popular approach to building higher education capacity in support of international development goals, but there is insufficient evidence that they are more effective, efficient, or sustainable than other forms of development collaboration. Since the long-term success and viability of academic collaborations ultimately depends on the willingness and ability of faculty members to sustain partnership relationships or impacts, it is critical to gain a more thorough understanding of faculty agency perspectives and behaviors within such partnerships. Global South faculty member perspectives are scarcely represented in the emerging body of literature on aid-funded partnerships. This study aims to highlight faculty perspectives, while also putting them in context and conversation with their counterparts in the Global North through a multi-sited, embedded case study design. Furthermore, by delineating the many dimensions and stages of partnership engagement, this study can offer guidance on which aspects of the partnership are most in need of and

amenable to change to promote meaningful and sustained faculty engagement in similar types of partnerships.

Overview of the Dissertation

This chapter provided an overview of the study by introducing the phenomenon of university development partnerships and the importance of examining faculty engagement within them. It also introduced the research paradigm and questions that guided this study and the significance of this research to the field of comparative and international development education. The next chapter discusses key characteristics of university development partnerships and reviews the context in which the human rights partnership at the center of this study emerged. Chapter three reviews the relevant literature and conceptual framework that ground this study. Chapter four describes the research methodology and discusses the strengths and limitations of this study. Chapters five and six present the findings of this study according to the five stages of international university partnerships: design, initiation, negotiation, collaboration, and conclusion. Chapter seven summarizes and discusses the significance and practical implications of these findings.

Chapter Two: Situating the Study

This chapter examines the context in which this case study emerged. The first section explores higher education's long-standing role in development and the emergence of university development partnerships (UDPs). The next section examines some key characteristics of UDPs in general and the Human Rights Partnership (HRP) in particular. This chapter concludes with a review of the state of higher education and human rights in Colombia that led to the human rights partnership at the center of this study.

From Developmental Universities to University Development Partnerships

Even before the advent of what is now called "the knowledge economy" in the late 1980s and early 1990s, academics and governments have recognized the important role of universities in furthering social and economic development goals. In the United States, the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 underscored the practical and developmental value of higher education for working-class citizens. The resulting public land-grant university system paved the way for strong government support of higher education (Maletzke, 2009; Thelin, 2011, p. 74). Much later, James Coleman (1986) coined the term "developmental universities" to describe the potential of universities to direct their work and mission towards national and social development goals. Recognizing their important role in community development, many universities have adopted community service and outreach as their third mission, after education and research (Thorn & Soo, 2006; Breznitz & Feldman, 2010). Teaching, research, and service are now commonly found in university mission statements in the United States and around the world.

Higher education and development policy have experienced stages of overlap and discontinuity over the past few decades. In the 1980s and early1990s, many governments

and donor organizations favored investment in basic education at the expense of higher education. This is largely because the dominant development economists and studies suggested that basic education was a more effective means of building human capital and achieving economic growth. This position was largely supported by Psacharopoulos' rate-of-return studies (1973, 1981), which claimed that basic education had higher returns to society and that social returns on educational investment decreased as students move up the education ladder. This evidence also garnered policy support for the privatization of education, particularly at the higher levels (Jones, 1997).

Neoliberal policies that favored reduced government expenditures on higher education and the privatization of public services took root in the United States and much of the developed world throughout the 1980s. At the same time, many developing countries were facing a series of economic crises and in need of reform. Subsequently, neoliberal policies and reductions in public funding for higher education quickly spread through much of the developing world through international development programs and policies. The World Bank and the IMF actively promoted the privatization of education and encouraged governments to direct limited public funding towards basic education through their structural adjustment programs. Such policies supported the World Bank's broader neoliberal reform agenda that sought to decrease the role of the state and increase the role of the market in national economies in order to integrate the global open-market economy (Jones, 1997; Heyneman, 1994). In addition, international development programs such as the Education for All initiative (launched by UNESCO in 1990) and the Millennium Development Goals (established at the 2000 United Nations Millennium Summit) further prioritized funding for basic education (Teferra & Altbach, 2004;

Heyneman, 2006). As a result, limited government and aid budgets in the U.S. and much of the developing world were heavily directed towards basic education at the expense of higher education.

It was not until the mid-to-late 1990s that leading international development agencies shifted their attention to higher education as a key development priority (World Bank, 1994, in Robertson 2009). In 2000, the World Bank and UNESCO convened a Task Force on Higher Education and Society to understand the state of higher education in developing countries. This influential study found that previous rate-of-return studies were narrow in scope and did not account for the full range of social and economic benefits that result from higher education. It concluded that higher education supported development in myriad ways and was in need of substantial support. The Task Force encouraged the higher education sector to collaborate with other education systems as well as public and private entities to support investment and efficient allocation of resources as a means for "unleashing the potential of higher education's contribution to society" ("Task Force on Higher Education," 2000, p. 94).

Even as development policies and funding shifted in support of higher education by the early 2000s, the long period of neglect had taken a toll on the higher education sector. The impact of this neglect of institutions of higher education in terms of funding was particularly damaging for developing country institutions. Many universities around the world still face enormous resource and capacity constraints that inhibit their ability to meet human and economic development goals. With a renewed appreciation for the importance of higher education in fostering national development, development agencies have increased their support for university development partnerships (UDPs). UDPs

could be considered an extension of Coleman's developmental university idea in a globalized and neoliberal era.

Characteristics of U.S. Government-Funded University Development Partnerships

Most U.S.-government funded UDPs have similar origins in that they are designed to support the interests and activities of U.S. government agencies such as USAID and the U.S. State Department. These partnerships tend to receive project funding for a short and fixed period (often between 2 and 5 years). This short-term project approach to UDPs reflects the tendency of USAID to fund short-term development projects instead of long-term initiatives. This trend is reinforced by U.S. government budget practices whereby Congress determines the operational budgets of the U.S. State Department and USAID on an annual basis. Another justification for the short-term project approach is that UDPs have high start-up costs as they require substantial investments of faculty time and resources to develop (Chapman et al., 2014). Without initial start-up support from donors, it is unlikely that these types of development partnerships could evolve on their own.

The timeline and funding structure of UDPs are important considerations because they influence the partnership in many important ways. Namely, the availability of external funding is a powerful incentive for institutions to participate. In the case of U.S.-African UDPs, Samoff and Carrol (2004) note that African partners often weigh the value of external funding and international recognition more heavily than other partnership considerations or needs. They caution that, "where either institution sees the partnership primarily as a way to generate external funding, it is likely to remain just that" (2004, p. 71). Furthermore, the short-term nature of UDP funding creates pressure to engage in

activities that can be accomplished in a short period. Accordingly, project activities and indicators of success are skewed towards short-term accomplishments.

The international development organization, Higher Education for Development (HED), has managed most U.S. government-funded UPDs to date in collaboration with USAID and the U.S. State Department. HED has managed more than 400 UDPs between 1992 and 2015. In the 2012 fiscal year, HED managed 70 active higher education partnerships in 37 countries around the world. 27 of these partnerships (39%) took place in the Latin America and Caribbean region (see Table 1).

Table 1: HED Partnerships by Geographic Region (2012 Fiscal Year)[3]

Geographic Region	Number of Partnerships
Latin America & the Caribbean (LAC)	**27**
Africa	22
Middle East & North Africa (MENA)	17
Asia	3
Europe & Eurasia	1
Total	**70**

HED partnerships follow a standard model whereby HED matches developing country HEIs (beneficiaries) with U.S. HEIs to address a specific national or regional development goal. Most of these partnerships follow a similar process that begins with USAID or the U.S. State Department allocating funds to create a university partnership around an identified development issue. Once an issue is selected and funds are allocated, HED typically commissions an institutional or community needs assessment. Needs assessment results usually inform the selection of developing country partners and provide background information for potential U.S. applicants. After developing country

[3] Statistics were obtained from Higher Education for Development's Annual Report (2012). 2012 was the most recent year for which official data was available.

institutions (beneficiaries) are identified, U.S. partners are selected through a competitive application process. Applicants respond to a public Request for Applications (RFA) and applications are peer reviewed by outside evaluators and forwarded to USAID for approval. U.S. partners are advised to contact developing country partners before submitting their applications, but developing country partners do not formally participate in the selection process. Then, successful applicants are notified and an award agreement is negotiated between HED and the U.S. institution. Within the first 90 days of the award, U.S. partners travel to meet with developing country partners, negotiate sub-awards, conduct a baseline assessment, and refine the management and evaluation plans using HED guidelines and templates.

The U.S.-Colombia Human Rights Partnership

The Human Rights Partnership (HRP) at the center of this study is a USAID-funded and HED-managed partnership between one U.S. university and four Colombian universities designed to improve education and training in human rights and foster a culture of respect for human rights across Colombia. This partnership has three specific objectives: 1) strengthening Colombian law schools' institutional capacity to train human rights professionals, 2) enhancing the outreach capacity of Colombian law schools to better serve vulnerable populations, and 3) training law students according to national and international human rights standards to support a culture of human rights in Colombia.

The partnership project was conceived by the USAID Mission in Colombia to support joint human rights initiatives of the U.S. and Colombian governments. USAID provided more than 1 million U.S. dollars over a period of almost four years to support

the development of this partnership. This made the HRP susceptible to the same lure of external funding and propensity for short-term myopia that affect many other UDPs.

The partnership structure was designed by HED after signing an award agreement with the USAID Mission in Colombia and conducting an institutional assessment of potential law schools in different regions of Colombia. The U.S. university was the primary implementing partner and the four Colombian universities were the project beneficiaries. Although they were the project beneficiaries, the Colombian universities did not play a role in defining partnership objectives or selecting the U.S. university partner. The U.S. university partner did not play a significant role in this process either, as objectives and illustrative activities were determined before U.S. universities could apply. Partnership funding flowed from USAID to HED through an Associate Award Agreement and then from HED to the U.S. university partner through a sub-award agreement, and finally to one of the four Colombian universities in the form of another sub-award. One Colombian university was identified to serve as the administrative center for the four Colombian universities for the sake of expediency and because it had prior experience managing a USAID project. HED monitored project implementation and provided administrative support for the duration of the partnership. Table 2 outlines the general HRP start-up process and timeline.

Table 2: Human Rights Partnership Initiation Process and Timeline

December 2011	HED and USAID Mission in Colombia sign an Associate Award Agreement to implement the HRP and two similar partnerships in Colombia.
March 2012	Human rights experts from the U.S. and Colombia complete an institutional needs assessment to assess the local context and identify beneficiary law schools.
Late May 2012	HED issues a public Request for Applications to select U.S. partner universities.
Mid July 2012	HED makes the institutional assessment report available to interested applicants, updates application requirements, and extends application deadline to early August 2012.
Mid October 2012	HED signs a sub-award agreement with selected U.S. university following the recommendations of a peer review panel. The U.S. partner is given 90 days to finalize the design of the partnership, issue sub-award agreements with Colombian universities to formally establish the partnership, and develop a comprehensive Monitoring & Evaluation plan.

Higher Education and Human Rights in Colombia

This section reviews the context in which the Human Rights Partnership emerged. It seems obvious to start any endeavor with an understanding of the context—the facts or circumstances that surround a situation or event. The challenge in describing the context is to be mindful that there are often many sides to a story, and that by choosing just one story, the author is complicit in privileging a certain perspective. As Chimamanda Adichie (2009) cautions, "show a people as one thing and only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become."

The U.S. government tells a consistent story about Colombia being one of the oldest democracies in Latin American plagued by violent armed conflict and illegal drug trafficking. The USAID (2016) profile on Colombia states:

> Colombia is a middle-income country and one of the oldest democracies in Latin America. However, it has endured nearly half a century of intense armed conflict, perpetuated by widespread illegal drug production and trafficking. Longstanding violence and instability is rooted in territorial control by illegal armed groups and terrorist organizations, and a large internally displaced population.

This is the story most United States citizens know, or soon learn as they read about Colombia in the U.S. media. Images of drugs, violence, Pablo Escobar, and the FARC guerillas quickly come to mind. But this is just one story. Many Colombians can tell a far more vivid and complex story about Colombia. This section weaves together U.S. and Colombian descriptions of the higher education and human rights context that are important for understanding faculty engagement in the HRP.

Higher education in Colombia. Higher education in Colombia was first introduced by the Spanish in the late 1500s during the colonial period. Modeled after the Spanish schools, Colombia's earliest HEIs were private and Catholic (Jaramillo, 2005; Uribe, 2015). National public universities first emerged in the early 1800s as Colombia's liberators fought for national independence and attempted to consolidate the republic. By the mid-1900s, private universities expanded to meet increased demand for higher education from the middle classes. Many of them were established as secular or nonsectarian universities. Today, while many private Colombian universities are Catholic, most are secular or nonsectarian in nature.

The number of Colombian higher education institutions (HEIs) has rapidly increased in the past three decades following the adoption of the National Constitution of 1991 and the passage of Law 30 for Higher Education of 1992, which organized the

public service of higher education and created a national accreditation system. There are currently 288 higher education institutions (HEIs) in Colombia, the majority (207) are private. While there are more than twice as many private institutions as public ones, private education represents a little less than half (48% in 2013) of total national enrollment (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2014).

It could be argued that Colombian universities have had an international dimension from the very beginning since its first universities were modeled after Spanish universities. However, it was not until the 1950s that Colombian universities started engaging in international activities. Between the 1950s and 1970s, most international activities consisted of Colombian students receiving scholarships to study in the United States and the Soviet Union as a form of development assistance. Jaramillo describes this type of internationalization as "exogenous, unilateral, and with a strong emphasis on North-South cooperation, which helped increased the exodus from the South toward the North" (2005, p. 180). Much of these opportunities dried up in the 1980s as tuition soared in the United States and Europe, the relative cost of living abroad became too expensive for most Colombians, and government capacity to continue supporting international exchange programs declined.

The emerging global knowledge economy provided an important impetus for renewed internationalization efforts in Colombia. Throughout the 1990s, the Colombian government supported internationalization through its legal and regulatory frameworks. The Colombian Agency for International Cooperation began lending money for Colombians to study abroad, international academic integration programs emerged to support Colombian academic communities abroad, and universities established formal

international relations offices (OECD/World Bank, 2012; Jaramillo, 2005). This current form of internationalization almost exclusively focuses on study abroad and most Colombians who study abroad are self-funded and tend to study in the United States or Europe (Jaramillo & de Wit, 2011). Consequently, student mobility and internationalization efforts remain somewhat limited.

Internationalization is now part of the public discourse Colombia, which has the potential to become an international education hub within Latin America (OECD/World Bank, 2012). This is evidenced by the creation of the Colombian Network for the Internationalization of Higher Education (*Red Colombiana para la Internacionalización de la Educación Superior* or RCI), established in 1998, and a spin-off conference, the Annual Latin American and Caribbean Higher Education Conference, started in 2009. Despite increased attention, "in most cases actions are small, marginal, and have a very limited impact" and "an overall comprehensive approach to internationalization is still lacking" (OECD/World Bank, 2012, p. 210). The lack of strategic IHE on the part of Colombian institutions means that most internationalization activities to date are initiated by international partners and are not necessarily relevant to Colombian higher education needs.

International university partnership patterns across Latin America tell a similar story. Most international partnerships connect Latin American universities with those in Europe and the United States. Furthermore, institutions, governments, and development agencies outside of Latin America have initiated most existing partnerships. These partnerships are typically created in response to external demands and opportunities rather than Colombian institutional initiatives or national policies (Gacel-Avila,

Jaramillo, Knight, & de Wit, 2005, p. 344). Although these partnerships require considerable time and effort from Latin American faculty members, they are rarely strategic nor under the control of Latin American stakeholders. The USAID-funded Human Rights Partnership is yet another example of an externally-initiated university partnership involving Colombian HEIs.

Human rights in Colombia. While Colombia's experience with IHE may raise questions about the benefits of externally-initiated university partnerships, the human rights situation in Colombia certainly demonstrates a need for support. Colombia has been suffering from over five decades of civil war characterized by internal armed conflict, drug trafficking, terrorism, and government corruption.

The contemporary armed conflict began in 1964 with the creation of two communist guerilla armies, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). The 1948 assassination of the populist presidential candidate, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, and the inter-party violence it triggered (known as La Violencia) are widely regarded as antecedents of the current conflict. The resulting National Front coalition (1958-1974) of the dominant liberal and conservative parties helped quell bipartisan violence, but this agreement largely excluded communist groups, which the U.S. government was helping to repress. The FARC was established in 1964 as the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party. The ELN was founded in the same year by a group of students who had returned from their studies in Cuba. Among its supporters were university students, leftist intellectuals, and radical Catholic priests, all of whom were inspired by the Cuban Revolution. (BBC, 2013; Pacheco, 2013). The emergence of the FARC and ELN—and government efforts to quash them—resulted in a

protracted war between the two rebel groups, U.S.-backed Colombian military and paramilitary groups, and, to a lesser extent, privately funded self-defense forces that continues to this day.

Both the guerilla and paramilitary groups have engaged in drug trafficking and terrorism. The FARC is well-known for funding its operations through kidnapping for ransom, illegal mining, and drug trafficking. All armed groups have been criticized for committing gross human rights violations, often with impunity. Minority groups (especially indigenous, Afro-descendant, and peasant farming communities), as well as human rights defenders, trade unionists, community leaders, and journalists are frequent targets of this violence (Human Rights Watch, 2013). These threats have greatly hindered the reporting of human rights violations and defense of human rights in Colombia. To date, the ongoing conflict has resulted in more than 220,000 deaths, 45,000 forced disappearances, an estimated four to six million displaced persons, and a massive number of human rights abuses and sexual violence cases (Haugaard & Sanchez-Garzoli, 2015).

Since 1982, many Colombian presidents have initiated peace agreements, though none have been successful in ending the conflict (Pacheco, 2013). Under the administration of President Juan Manuel Santos, the Colombian government has taken many important steps towards a peaceful resolution to this decades-long conflict. The 2011 Victims and Land Restitution Law (Law 1448) was an important step forward in that it formally acknowledged the existence of an armed conflict in Colombia and provided a mechanism to facilitate the restitution of millions of acres of abandoned and stolen land. In November 2012, the Colombian government initiated peace talks with the FARC and ELN. Both talks have been threatened and occasionally stalled due to attacks

and partisan debates. After four years and more than forty rounds of negotiation with the FARC, a peace deal was reached and then narrowly rejected in a referendum on October 2, 2016. Critics, including former President Álvaro Uribe, believed the agreement did not go far enough in punishing the rebels. A revised peace deal was passed by Congress in November of 2016. Peace talks with the ELN—Colombia's second largest rebel group—began in February 2017, after having been postponed several times due to hostage taking and violence (Redacción Política, 2016; "Colombia: Peace Talks," 2017). Meanwhile, violence continues in Colombia's countryside.

Most indicators show Colombia is moving in the direction of peace: the guerilla groups are not as strong as they once were, many paramilitary groups have demobilized, and the current administration has demonstrated a strong commitment to human rights. This is the closest Colombia has come to reaching an end to its ongoing conflict in decades. President Santos won the 2016 Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his efforts. Yet, Colombia's human rights situation is still very fragile. Widespread insecurity and violence in the form of threats, disappearances, and murders still occur in many regions and many Colombians remain skeptical about the effectiveness of various government measures to secure peace.

Colombia has a vibrant civil society that has played an important role in strengthening Latin America's oldest democracy and supporting current peace efforts. Many community groups, religious organizations, non-governmental organizations, professional associations, and advocacy groups continue to work for peace, justice, and empowerment for Colombia's citizens. In addition, the prospect of peace and stability has boosted economic activity and tourism to the country. Medellín, once famous for the late

drug lord, Pablo Escobar, is now rebranding itself as a city of innovation and civic pride. Twenty years after Escobar's 1993 death, the city's murder rate had fallen by 80% and Medellín was named the world's most innovative city by Urban Land Institute (Parker, 2013).

The armed conflict's impact on Colombian human rights education. Pacheco (2013) points out that higher education in Colombia has always been political and Colombian universities have never been a neutral space for knowledge production. Changes in political leadership commonly result in changes to education curricula (Pacheco, 2013) and conservative and liberal Colombian leaders have long debated the role of the religion in Colombia's education system (Uribe, 2015).

Political intervention in higher education has also come from outside of Colombia. During the Cold War, for example, higher education was an important vehicle for international development and soft diplomacy. Both U.S. and Soviet governments provided Colombian students with scholarships to their most prestigious universities as part of a multi-pronged strategy to win the "hearts and minds" of Colombian people (de Wit et al, 2005; Pacheco, 2013). Foreign governments continue to influence higher education in Colombia and elsewhere through student scholarship programs and international development projects.

As with the rest of Colombian society, the armed conflict has left an indelible print on Colombian higher education. As it has been for many Colombian citizens, conflict has been part of the day-to-day life on many university campuses. Public universities have generally been more affected than private universities. One reason is because public universities in Colombia, as in other parts of Latin America, have a long

history of political activism. Additionally, as Colombia's largest and most diverse universities, public universities tend to reflect Colombia's socioeconomically stratified society (Pacheco, 2013). At different points in time, "all the parties involved in the conflict (government, guerrillas and paramilitaries) have infiltrated public universities to achieve ideological or economic control, or to gather intelligence" (Pacheco, 2013, p. 437). As recently as 2005, the campuses of two HRP member universities—one public and one private—had a significant presence of armed groups. Even though direct combat has never occurred on campus, Colombian students and professors have been threatened, tortured, killed, and disappeared. Although private universities in urban areas have generally been less exposed to the armed conflict, they have also experienced its devastating effects.

Colombia's precarious human rights situation presents obvious challenges for human rights work and education within Colombia. The topic of human rights remains a highly sensitive subject, with labor rights and corruption being particularly high-risk topics. Working in the field of human rights, whether as an academic or a lawyer, poses a serious security risk. Human rights defenders and labor union members are routinely subjected to death threats, theft of sensitive information, and fabricated charges, all intended to intimidate and undermine the defense of human and labor rights. In 2016, the murders of more than 75 human rights defenders and 17 trade union members were reported (Amnesty International, 2017). Given the danger associated with reporting crimes or attempting to bring perpetrators to justice, murderers are rarely caught, and even then, rarely convicted.

The hostile climate for human rights work in Colombia significantly hinders the

development of the human rights profession. Many potential human rights lawyers are discouraged from entering the field altogether. Those who do often avoid high-risk or highly sensitive human rights issues such as labor rights and the armed conflict itself. The heightened security concerns also limit educational and training opportunities for students to work in the area of human rights. Law students within the HRP said it is not uncommon to graduate without ever having attended a legal hearing or visited a courthouse because of the inherent dangers.

At the same time, Colombia's situation presents an extraordinary need and opportunity to engage law students in human rights cases. In June of 2011, a few months before the HRP started, the Colombian government passed the Victims and Land Restitution Law to begin returning millions of acres of land to Colombians who had been displaced as a result of the armed conflict. This, alongside peace negotiation efforts led by the Santos administration, is drawing attention to the thousands of victims of human rights abuses and raising demands for reparations and justice through the Colombian legal system. Law schools and students can support these efforts through legal clinics, research, and community education.

History of U.S. involvement in Colombian affairs. The U.S. government has a long history of political involvement in Colombia, which has been met with mixed emotions from Colombians. U.S. funds have supported development and security initiatives in Colombia for the past five decades. But critics point out that this involvement has always been out of naïve self-interest, and in many cases, with devastating results that have further destabilized the country.

In 1961, just eight months after President John F. Kennedy was inaugurated, Colombia became one of the first countries to host U.S. Peace Corps volunteers. The following year, in 1962, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) began operating in Colombia. During the Cold War, Colombia was one of the largest recipients of U.S. counter-insurgency funds designed to contain the influence of Soviet-backed communism and repress left-wing armed insurgency groups such as the FARC. As part of this strategy, the U.S. government provided training and resources to Colombian military and paramilitary groups to fight leftist guerrilla groups (Stokes, 2005). U.S. policy towards Colombia shifted as drug trafficking fueled Colombia's conflict and the U.S. government focused on counter-narcotics and counter-terrorism efforts. Between 2000 and 2015, through a program known as Plan Colombia, the U.S. government provided Colombia with over $10 billion (U.S. dollars) in foreign aid and military assistance for peace and security and the war on drugs (Miroff, 2016; Rampton, 2016).

Critics point out that U.S. military, economic, and political support to Colombia reflects U.S. foreign policy interests, something the U.S. government readily admits. USAID states, "U.S. foreign assistance has always had the twofold purpose of furthering America's interests while improving lives in the developing world" (USAID, 2017). For example, U.S. government concerns about the spread of communism were apparent in its involvement in Colombia during the Cold War. Similarly, U.S. security concerns about drug trafficking and terrorism have resulted in billions of dollars of military and economic aid to Colombia through Plan Colombia. According to Tate (2009), U.S. foreign policy towards Colombia has shifted from the Cold War to the war on terror.

U.S. involvement in Colombia has been a mixed blessing. Although U.S. assistance has found support among many Colombian governments over the years, its policies have also attracted fierce criticism from human rights and political activists, as well as from Colombian and U.S. citizens. The U.S. government has been accused of adding fuel to the fire by continuing to support Colombian military forces despite their known collusion with illegal paramilitary groups and frequent human rights abuses (Hanson, 2008; Amnesty International, 2017). Even the seemingly straightforward policy of extraditing Colombian paramilitary leaders to the U.S. to serve prison sentences has had the adverse consequence of hampering human rights and corruption investigations within Colombia (Gordon & Smith, 2010). "But in critical ways, the U.S. intervention tipped the war," argues Miroff (2016). This history has understandably complicated U.S.-Colombian relations and is an important backdrop for understanding faculty engagement in a U.S. government-funded human rights project in Colombia.

In summary, university development partnerships (UDPs) follow from higher education's long-standing role in international development. The U.S.-Colombian Human Rights Partnership (HRP) at the center of this study shares many characteristics with other UDPs that receive international development assistance from the U.S. government in the form of short-term project funding. The HRP was designed to support Colombian institutions of higher education to strengthen human rights education and practice in Colombia, a country with a long and difficult history of human rights abuses in which the U.S. features prominently.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the relevant literature and resulting conceptual framework that guided this study on faculty engagement in university development partnerships. The first section reviews relevant literature from three main topical areas: internationalization of higher education, international development partnerships, and faculty engagement. This chapter concludes with a critical model of international faculty engagement that frames the research and findings.

Internationalization Discourses & Trends

This section reviews some of the major internationalization rationales, assumptions, and trends as well as their relevance for understanding UDPs.

Conceptualizing the internationalization of higher education. An early working definition of IHE, proposed by Knight, is "the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (Knight, 1997, p. 8). As one of the first definitions of IHE, Knight's definition has been widely accepted as a description of and framework for IHE activities (de Wit, 2002). As the global higher education landscape continues to change, many IHE scholars, including Knight, have continued to refine and expand upon this definition.

Van der Wende further defines IHE as "any systematic effort aimed at making higher education responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalization of societies, economy, and labour markets" (1997, p. 18). This definition situates IHE as a necessary response to societal changes rather than mere acts of individual higher education institutions (HEIs). It helps explain why governments and universities might take an interest in IHE, but it offers little guidance on how they might

do so. Knight's updated definition of IHE incorporates a global dimension, but still positions HEIs as the driving force of IHE. She describes IHE as a "process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2004, p. 11).

The above conceptualizations of IHE are helpful in identifying what IHE is, but they fall short in describing how the process of IHE occurs. They have been criticized for their lack of utility in guiding individual faculty internationalization efforts (Liddicoat, 2003; Sanderson, 2008). Building upon Knight's three levels of internationalization (institutional, sector, national), Sanderson proposed the addition of a within-institution level (encompassing departments and individual faculty members) and a supranational level (including regional and global dimensions). The within-institution level is especially important because it focuses on what is necessary for faculty to become internationalized academics, which is mostly overlooked in the literature on IHE.

Rudzki (1995) points out that university internationalization strategies can be either proactive (e.g. when a university develops strategies and incentives to encourage certain international activities among its students and faculty) or reactive (e.g. when a university takes advantage of international activities already taking places and tries to formalize or expand them). Although UDPs start as externally-driven international initiatives, universities could take a reactive approach by supporting or institutionalizing certain aspects of the partnership or its activities.

The distinction between narrow symbolic internationalization and transformative internationalization (Bartell, 2003) is also helpful for understanding UPDs. Symbolic internationalization implies that minimal efforts are made to engage in IHE. This might

be apparent in signed agreements between universities (e.g. Memorandums of Understanding) that remain agreements in paper only or simply having international students on campus but no formal strategies or programs to recruit and support them. Transformative internationalization, on the other hand, is a much more strategic and comprehensive approach to IHE. Universities adopting this approach might weave internationalization efforts into their mission statements and teaching, research, and service activities and modify their merit and review processes to recognize and reward faculty efforts.

Bartell's (2003) comparison of symbolic and transformative internationalization parallels Appadurai's (1999) distinction between weak and strong internationalization. Appadurai uses these terms to understand and critique how universities engage in international research and knowledge production. Weak internationalization describes faculty exchanges and research collaborations that are carried out with "unquestioned prior adherence to a quite specific research ethic" (Appadurai, 1999, p. 237). This typically consists of academics in the Global South conforming to research traditions that are commonplace in the Global North and thus dominant in the global knowledge network. On the other end of the spectrum, and what Appadurai strives for, is strong internationalization whereby scholars from different societies and research traditions can share and learn about other traditions of research and debate what counts as valid knowledge. For Appadurai, strong or critical internationalization is necessary to even the playing field between academics and institutions in the Global North and South.

The distinction that Bartell (2003) and Appadurai (1999) make between minimal and comprehensive internationalization efforts offers a means to evaluate institutional

commitment to IHE and support for faculty participation in international university partnerships. In addition, Appadurai offers a critical lens by which to examine the ability of these partnerships to truly build capacity and expand access to the global knowledge network. Both perspectives, combined with Sanderson's (2008) attention to the faculty and departmental level, offer a means to understand faculty engagement in IHE as it is mediated by departmental, institutional, and geopolitical factors.

Internationalization rationales. It is also helpful to think of IHE in terms of what it does for universities, and, by extension, individuals and nations. After all, it is the rationales for IHE—influenced by global ideologies and perpetuated through internationalization discourses—that shape internationalization policies. The dominant motivations for IHE have been grouped into four main categories: social/cultural, political, economic, and academic (Knight and de Wit, 1995; de Wit, 2002).

In Knight and de Wit's (1995) framework, social/cultural rationales include intercultural understanding, citizenship development, and social and community development (de Wit et al., 2005, p. 16). Civic engagement, human rights, and global citizenship goals could also be added to this category (Scott, 2003). Increased global awareness and understanding are popular rationales for international academic exchanges and collaborations. Besides their humanist function, global and intercultural competencies serve an instrumental purpose. These are competencies that are increasingly viewed as necessary for faculty and universities to compete in the global knowledge economy. In this sense, internationalization helps position universities as "world class" institutions (Schoorman, 2000). When faculty and universities internationalize to acquire social/cultural benefits for instrumental purposes, these

rationales overlap with the political, academic, and economic rationales outlined below.

The second category in this framework, political rationales, includes concerns about foreign policy, national security, technical or development assistance, peace and mutual understanding, and national and regional identity (Knight, 2005, p. 16). Many international scholarship and student exchange programs have clear social and political aims (Nye, 2004). For example, the European Commission's (2015) Erasmus Mundus Programme supports student mobility and educational cooperation in higher education to promote intercultural understanding and position the European Union as a "centre of excellence in learning around the world." Here the social and political aspects of IHE are viewed as mutually supportive goals.

Academic motivations comprise the third category of internationalization rationales. Academic rationales for internationalization include improving the overall quality of education and research, adding an international dimension to the curriculum, preparing students to compete in a globalized world, building institutional capacity through enhanced structures and activities, meeting international academic standards, and building the profile and status of the institution (Grant, 2014; Knight, 2005). Universities face a strong academic incentive to internationalize as their teaching, research, and service missions support an increasingly global society.

Economic rationales make up the fourth and final category. Income generation, economic growth and global competitiveness, and a globally competent labor market are commonly cited economic rationales for internationalization. Sakamoto and Chapman (2011) find that most cross-border collaborations are motivated by economic incentives or some expectation of tangible benefit. The fact that cross-border education is a multi-

billion-dollar industry and is rapidly growing in many countries supports this observation.

The above framework sheds light on the many social/cultural, political, academic, and economic, motivations that drive IHE. As IHE grows more complex, so does the ability to categorize and distinguish between these different rationales. The desire to gain international recognition (for social, political, academic, or economic purposes) and compete within the global knowledge economy appear to be the overarching rationales for IHE (Knight, 2004). Even in the case of university development partnerships, which have a clear developmental aim and cooperative mandate, this competitive force cannot be ignored. The next section, therefore, examines some of the changing geopolitical realities that encourage universities to simultaneously cooperate and compete for relevance within the global knowledge economy.

Internationalization strategies. University strategies continue to adapt to changing geopolitical realities even as their core teaching, research, and service missions remain intact. Describing global trends in higher education (HE) over the past few decades, Mollis says, "HE systems are in transition in almost all the world" (2008, p. 267). To remain relevant in a global knowledge-based economy, universities must develop a global perspective and presence (Stromquist, 2007). And to prepare students to learn, work, and engage in a globalized world, faculty members must also expand their global competencies (Sanderson, 2008).

How faculty members and universities respond to global pressures and partnership opportunities varies greatly depending on their geopolitical locations. For example, institutions that come from countries with longstanding traditions of excellence in higher education, that have achieved global prestige, or that teach and produce

scholarship in English have more opportunities to participate in IHE and initiate partnerships on their own terms (Altbach & Salmi, 2011). Thus, Global North institutions enter international university partnerships with a clear geopolitical advantage over their partners in the Global South.

Internationalization is a universal phenomenon, but it serves different purposes for different actors and stakeholders (Knight, 2008; Grant, 2014). Universities have different reasons for entering into international partnerships, and these reasons may be more or less strategic, depending on the university's standing. For example, universities global prestige—what Altbach and Balán (2007) describe as "world class" universities—often have the privilege of choosing their partners based on strategic interests and needs whereas those with less prestige or experience often take what comes to them. Even as universities collaborate across borders for a common developmental purpose, as in the case of UDPs, "collaborators may have different motivations for participation, assess the value of activities in different ways, seek different outcomes, and value the same outcomes differently" (Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011, p. 4). The next section explores how these different internationalization perspectives inform IHE activities.

International university partnership activities. Knight describes international or cross-border collaboration in terms of who or what moves across borders. She groups collaborations into four basic categories: people, programs, providers, and projects/services (Knight, 2006, p. 358). Most UDPs fit within Knight's projects/services category, which includes technical assistance projects, capacity building projects, joint research, joint curriculum development, and professional development, among other activities and services.

It is also helpful to view partnership activities in terms of the organizational strategies that drive them, because this indicates the overall direction in which the partnership activities are moving and the assumptions behind them. Knight (2005) identified four main organizational strategies for internationalization: governance, operations, services, and human resources. Governance strategies relate to leadership, faculty involvement, setting goals, and managing and evaluating progress towards those goals. The operations category reflects strategies related to structure, communication, coordination, and resource allocation. Services include institutional, academic, and student support services. Finally, human resource strategies include issues of recruitment, retention, professional development, and support (Knight, 2005, p. 25). These elements are all important for institutional capacity building, though most UDPs focus on academic services and human resources. Faculty development is a popular activity in short-term capacity-building projects, because faculty members are easy to reach and quantify impact (e.g. number of faculty trained). However, it is not realistic to expect that faculty alone can build institutional capacity without supportive institutional structures, policies, and practices.

Summary. This section reviewed some of the dominant IHE discourses, rationales, strategies, and activities that explain how and why universities collaborate across borders. The underlying assumption of international partnerships is that collaborations are mutually beneficial: "individual partners cannot accomplish their overarching goals on their own, but a partnership creates the ultimate win-win situation" (Eddy, 2010, p. viii). Out of the desire to not be left behind, universities are establishing international university partnerships well ahead of the evidence of their effectiveness.

The current scholarship on internationalization sheds light on internationalization trends and practices but is limited in two important ways. The first limitation is that most IHE scholars take a functionalist or instrumentalist approach to understanding international university partnerships at the institutional level. Many IHE scholars focus on the specific inputs (activities), processes (arrangements), and outcomes (goals) of IHE at the expense of the broader context that shapes them. In doing so, they support the status quo by uncritically adopting the dominant neoliberal discourses about the role of higher education in the global knowledge economy. Such perspectives fail to explain the broader historical and sociopolitical forces that influence international university partnerships within the global knowledge economy. This leads to the second limitation of IHE scholarship: most existing research reflects the experiences and perspectives of scholars and universities in the Global North. This is partly because the universities leading the internationalization trend are mainly located in the Global North, and internationalization scholars typically come from these institutions. In effect, the experiences and perspectives of universities in the Global South—the intended beneficiaries of most UDPs—are largely absent.

Critical Perspectives on Internationalization and Partnership

The scarcity of Southern perspectives within the internationalization scholarship is indicative of larger issues, namely the marginal participation of the Global South in the global knowledge economy (Obamba, Kimbwarata, & Riechi, 2013; Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Altbach & Balán, 2007; Thomas, 2013; Grant, 2014). Universities in the developing world increasingly find themselves on the periphery of the international knowledge network as inequality in international higher education grows

(Altbach, 2013). This section explores critical perspectives on the conditions and events that have produced inequalities within the global knowledge economy and how they are often perpetuated through internationalization and international university partnerships.

Inequality on a global scale. The forces and processes of globalization and internationalization are highly debated. On the surface, globalization is a force that integrates diverse cultures, countries, economies, and political systems around the world (Tedrow & Mabokela, 2007). While globalization is characterized by increasing global connections and flows, there are still limits and barriers to these flows that make it an unequal process. National borders, trade agreements, and immigration policies can simultaneously open access for some while restricting the movement of others (Ritzer, 2011). For example, Jaramillo (2005) notes that internationalization among Colombian institutions of higher education has been stymied due to inadequate second language proficiency, insufficient financing, inflexible curriculum, and strict immigration policies, among other factors. These are some of the reasons that developed countries benefit more from globalization than lesser-developed countries.

The internationalization of higher education, both an agent and product of globalization, is similarly criticized for reinforcing global inequalities. Zeleza observes, "while internationalization has opened new opportunities, it has also served to reinforce and reproduce unequal divisions in the political economy of global education" (2012, p. 2). Tedrow and Mabokela are even more critical, suggesting that "with globalization, higher education has become an object for economic goals rather than an institution that fosters societal growth and educational development for individual students" (2007, p.165). Both acknowledge the growing inequality among higher education institutions

around the world, which is exacerbated by intense competition and selective cooperation agreements.

Competition and cooperation can certainly be forces for good when they encourage innovation and growth. However, the strongest institutions stand to benefit the most as they define the terms by which other universities can participate in internationalization. This is because well-established and well-funded universities have a cumulative and competitive advantage over weaker universities (Oleksiyenko & Sá, 2010). As public universities depend on national resources for support, institutional inequalities parallel national and regional divides. When better-resourced governments step in to give their institutions a competitive advantage, this only escalates resource asymmetries, predominantly between Global North and South institutions (Oleksiyenko, 2014, p. 502). Global inequality is further perpetuated as universities reinforce global hierarchies on the basis of academic prestige, innovation, and wealth (Altbach & Balán, 2007; Oleksiyenko & Sá, 2010).

Universities on the periphery of the Global Knowledge Economy. The international higher education landscape could also be understood in terms of academic centers and peripheries (Altbach, 2007; Altbach & Balán, 2007). According to this perspective, 'world class' universities occupy the center of the global knowledge network. These are the research universities that remain at the top of global academic rankings year after year. They are also heavily concentrated in industrialized countries. Institutions in the developing world, for the most part, remain on the periphery of knowledge and innovation. The odds are undoubtedly stacked against universities in low and middle-income countries that aspire to become world-class universities (Altbach,

2004; Altbach & Balán, 2007).

Climbing to the top of the global rankings is not just more challenging for peripheral universities; it can be counter-productive. The danger is that "they might end up sacrificing their role as catalysts of national development and intellectual leadership in their respective societies and regions, thereby foreclosing any possibilities of restructuring the global system of knowledge production itself," cautions Zeleza (2012, p. 14-15). Altbach (2007) notes that the goals and realities of research universities in the Global North differ from those in the Global South. He argues that local research universities are needed to address problems specific to their communities in a way that external universities cannot. They also play an important role in the development and preservation of local cultures and languages and contribute to the development of a robust civil society. In developing countries, research universities are critical bridges that connect the global knowledge network and local communities.

The rise of research-oriented doctoral programs as a marker of academic status has presented a tension for Latin American universities that have traditionally followed a professional education model (Balán, 2007, p. 300). Unlike the academic model, the profession-based model relies on part-time faculty who are practitioners in their respective fields. This is a barrier to the development of world-class research universities, as they require full-time academic professors. Altbach (2007) offers a pointed critique, arguing that "the lack of full-time faculty is one central reason Latin American countries have failed to build research universities." (p. 21).

Adapting to global academic standards has also been difficult for many Latin American universities as the dominant funding models are not conducive to innovation

and change (Balán, 2007). Faculty salaries are often based on seniority and education rather than performance, which makes it difficult to reward and incentivize faculty teaching, research, and service at these institutions. In summary, the role of peripheral universities in the global knowledge economy is decidedly different from that of center universities. They have different needs and they will experience the impact of internationalization differently. The tensions that universities encounter as they try to adapt to the academic imperatives of the global knowledge economy have important consequences for the faculty and staff members working within them.

Knowledge as power. The inability of peripheral universities to climb the ranks and compete with world-class universities is only part of the problem. Of greater concern is the control that these world-class universities have over the global production and dissemination of knowledge. Not only do central universities set the terms of internationalization, but they also shape the discourse around it. This happens because their values and interpretations of the global knowledge economy become widespread and authoritative.

For many critical scholars, knowledge is power, and this power remains concentrated among the former colonial and imperial powers. Tierney (2001) stresses the political and socially constructed nature of knowledge. He asserts "knowledge policy has political consequences that shape the way individuals think about and act in the world" (Tierney, 2001, p. 360). This pervasive worldview validates and reinforces the ideological, political, social, economic, and cultural control of those in power (Goddard, 2013; Kincheloe, 2011).

The very notion of a global knowledge economy reflects privileged assumptions

about what the world's economy should look like and how individuals, institutions, and nations can participate. Through a critical discourse analysis of education policies across different disciplines and nations, Peters (2001, 2002) finds that the knowledge economy is often discussed in narrow and instrumental terms and policies make overstated and untested claims about its implications. This has led to what Peters describes as "a new kind of struggle over meaning and value of knowledge" (2003, p. 153). From this perspective, the seemingly inevitable forces of the global knowledge economy are driven by the interests and assumptions of the global elites, in this case Western governments and universities.

Academics can either reinforce or challenge the status quo through their teaching, research, and service. Kincheloe (2011) encourages scholars to challenge global meta-narratives by engaging in a form of critical pedagogy. First introduced by Paulo Freire, critical pedagogy is an educational philosophy and movement that calls for education that connects knowledge to power and encourages scholars to develop a critical consciousness and act against forces of oppression.[4] For Kincheloe, this requires scholars to engage in critical reflection and identify the socio-historical forces that shape one's knowledge and belief system. He urges scholars to "understand the ways that power not only validates but rank orders the knowledges produced by individuals with differing amounts of academic and cultural capital" (Kincheloe, 2011, p. 395). Through critical analysis, scholars can draw attention to the inherent power structures that shape the knowledge economy and related internationalization policies.

[4] Other prominent scholars of critical pedagogy include Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, and Patti Lather.

Calls for critical analysis highlight another injustice: the ability to be critical and shape the global policy discourse is limited to those who have access to the global knowledge network. Perspectives from Global South scholars are underrepresented in academic literature. This inhibits a critical analysis of the discourse and policies that shape the knowledge economy, internationalization policies, and international university partnerships.

University partnerships on unequal terrain. This section explores some of the historical events and circumstances that keep Global South perspectives on the periphery of the global knowledge network. It addresses the neoliberal policies, historical resource asymmetries, and language barriers that make it difficult for Global North and Global South universities to partner on equal terms.

Neoliberal influences on university partnerships. The global diffusion of neoliberalism has had a profound influence on education and development policies around the world (Ginsburg, 2012; Robertson, Bonal & Dale, 2002). The rise of UDPs can be partially attributed to neoliberal thinking that promotes partnerships as a more effective and efficient means to deliver government services such as education and development assistance. Miraftab (2004) argues these types of partnerships are driven by an underlying neoliberal agenda that leads them to deliver results opposite to what they claim and calls for a more critical evaluation of partnerships within the context of their social, economic, cultural, and political environment to make them more equitable.

Ginsburg (2012) is also somewhat critical of the ability of partnerships to deliver equitable results on unequal playing fields. He emphasizes the unequal power relations that characterize international partnerships, which he believes are "informed by and

organized through the use of financial/material and ideological resources" (2012, p. 67). He, therefore, advocates for a critical examination of each partner's geopolitical context, motives, and power (2012, p. 74). This discussion illustrates the power of ideology and geopolitics and how they can shape international university partnership dynamics.

Historical resource asymmetries. The current disparities of power between Global North and Global South universities can also be attributed to historical resource asymmetries and imbalances of power that are reinforced in a global economy dominated by knowledge and information (Altbach, 2007, Teferra, 2008, Teferra & Altbach, 2004). The uneven development of national education systems is connected to the asymmetrical global division of labor, whereby the Global North has historically dominated the provision of services and information (Zeleza, 2012, p. 3). Long-term trade and information imbalances have given universities in the Global North a cumulative advantage over universities in the Global South in terms of institutional resources. These resource asymmetries contribute to further inequalities in university facilities, faculty recruitment and retention, research capabilities, academic performance, and reputation (Oleksiyenko & Sá, 2010, p. 382). Now, in the age of advanced communication and information technologies, unequal access to communication and information technologies, especially the Internet, severely reduces access to and participation in the global knowledge network (Kot, 2014). These advances have broken down barriers to communication and information across long-distances and created new educational possibilities, but until they are widely available and affordable, they will further marginalize those already on the periphery of the global knowledge economy.

Linguistic barriers and the dominance of English. The dominance of English in international higher education is yet another barrier for many Global South universities. English is now the global language of science and scholarship and universities around the world are under increasing pressure to conform to the norms of the leading academic systems that use English (Altbach & Salmi, 2011). Consequently, scholars who wish to participate in the global knowledge economy are increasingly expected to read, publish, teach, and work in English.

Like many international higher education trends, the pressure to adopt English as the medium of instruction and scholarship is simultaneously top-down and bottom-up. Many universities adopt English as the language of instruction and scholarship to participate in the English-dominated global knowledge network and with hopes of gaining international recognition and prestige (Curry & Lillis, 2010; Hoffmann, 2000; Selvi, 2011). Yet it is not just the English language that universities and academics are adopting. Participating in the English-dominated global knowledge network often means adopting the norms and values of English-speaking university systems. Curry and Lillis (2010) note that publishing in English-medium journals requires conforming to their methodologies and paradigms, which generally reflect Western traditions and values. Altbach and Salmi observe similar patterns, leading them to conclude:

> In some ways, English is also the language of academic neocolonialism in the sense that scholars everywhere are under pressure to conform to the norms and values of the metropolitan academic systems that use English (2011, p. 18).

English-speaking scholars at leading universities therefore enjoy multiple advantages. In addition to being able to read, work, and publish in their native language,

they have the power to set the global research agenda and determine what counts as valid knowledge. However, their privilege does not end there. Through social network analysis, Curry and Lillis (2010) found that faculty participation in academic research networks was critical to gaining access to English-medium publications. Yet participation in academic research networks requires funds to travel for conferences and research projects and reliable access to technologies to maintain those connections. Thus, in addition to English proficiency and familiarity with global research norms, scholars need a fair amount of material and social capital to fully participate in the global knowledge economy. As Altbach aptly concludes, "an international knowledge network—dependent on the Internet, increased use of English as the main scientific language, and growing linkages among academic institutions—is a central reality of academe" (Altbach, 2013, p. x). This results in a convergence of disadvantage for scholars at peripheral universities in resource-poor and non-English speaking countries, as is the case for a majority of scholars in the Global South.

Summary. As it currently stands, the Global North produces and disseminates much of the knowledge that shapes the discourse and practice on international education and development (Grant, 2014; Teferra & Altbach, 2004, Altbach, 2007). With limited access to the global knowledge network and few resources to support them, Global South universities are doubly disadvantaged compared to their partners in the Global North (Altbach, 2007, Grant, 2014). This disadvantage is compounded when North and South universities enter into development partnerships whereby Northern perspectives, interests, and money direct their course. These critical perspectives illustrate how UDP policies are often framed within Global North-dominated internationalization and

development discourses. This tends to give Global North partners an unfair advantage even as Global South universities are written into the partnership as the intended beneficiaries.

This review of the literature suggests the importance of evaluating UDPs within their broader historical and geopolitical context. What is often overlooked in the literature is how individual faculty members—the critical agents of change in these partnerships—experience these inequalities on the ground. Thus, most scholarship fails to account for how individual faculty members negotiate these tensions and exercise agency in shaping partnership terms and outcomes. To that end, the next section explores some common issues that affect individual participation and agency within UDPs and similar types of partnerships.

Faculty Engagement within International Partnerships

Faculty engagement is critical to successful internationalization efforts (Childress, 2010; Green & Olson, 2003; Bond, 2003; Mestenhauser, 1998). Paige (2003) observes that even when faculty involvement is not explicitly mentioned in internationalization efforts, it is usually implied as faculty members are central components of all university teaching, research, and service activities. Green and Olson (2003) point out that it is the faculty who shape the general campus culture through their attitudes and activities. This may take the form of encouraging students to study abroad and attend international events or participating in international research collaborations and international development projects. Although faculty engagement is a necessary component of nearly all forms of campus internationalization, the predominantly organizational and functionalist literature on IHE offers little guidance on how faculty engagement in

internationalization can be fostered and supported (Sanderson, 2008; Childress, 2010). This section reviews some definitions and key components of engagement that are relevant for understanding faculty engagement in university development partnerships.

Understanding engagement. Organizations seek to understand and influence employee engagement in a way that is beneficial to the individual and the organization. To that end, scholars from the fields of organizational psychology, management, and higher education have attempted to define and identify factors of engagement.

Workplace engagement. Work-related engagement has been most widely theorized in the fields of business management and organizational psychology. Much of this literature focuses on psychological, behavioral, or attitudinal aspects of engagement. As one of the early scholars to theorize about work-related engagement, Kahn (1990) focused on the psychological conditions of dis/engagement. For Kahn, the way people apply themselves physically, cognitively, and emotionally to their work can be attributed to three psychological conditions: meaningfulness, safety, and availability. Meaningfulness implies a personal return on investment or a feeling that the work is personally or professionally worthwhile and valuable. Safety is the belief that one's participation will not have negative consequences on their image, status or career. The third condition, availability, suggests that individuals must feel they possess the physical, emotional, and psychological resources to invest themselves in their work. This is also known as self-efficacy.

Maslach and Leiter (2008) describe engagement in terms of involvement, energy, and efficacy, defining it as "an energetic state of involvement with personally fulfilling activities that enhance one's sense of personal efficacy" (p. 498). In addition to

psychological engagement (e.g. satisfaction, self-efficacy, commitment), Macey and Schneider (2008) discuss behavioral engagement (e.g. personal initiative) and trait engagement (e.g. positive views of life and work). Workforce engagement focuses on individuals within the context of their workplaces. This perspective suggests that how people think about themselves and their environment shapes their behavior and actions.

Faculty community engagement. Most of the higher education literature on engagement originates in the U.S. and addresses the relationship between individuals and their institutions. Faculty engagement is often discussed in relation to a university's tripartite mission of teaching, research, and service. For example, Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi (2005) see engagement as educating students, advancing knowledge, serving the needs of the institution, and serving the needs of the broader society. The emerging field of public/community engagement has greatly expanded the concept and practice of faculty engagement, particularly as it relates to the third mission of university service and outreach.

Faculty public/community engagement is commonly understood as service beyond the university (Livingston, 2011). Colbeck and Weaver describe publicly engaged faculty as those who "integrate their teaching, research, and service to address societal needs" (2008, p. 7). O'Meara defines faculty community engagement as "work that engages a faculty member's professional expertise to solve real-world problems in ways that fulfill institutional mission and are public, not proprietary" (2008, p. 8). These scholars describe engaged faculty by their ability to weave together academic teaching and research functions for the benefit of their institutions and society at large.

Institutional support for faculty engagement. Scholarship on international

faculty engagement frequently mentions strategic efforts to encourage and support faculty participation in internationalization activities (Childress, 2010; Green & Olson, 2003). University internationalization strategies may include setting aside special funds for international activities, giving awards for international engagement, or ensuring that international work counts part of the promotion and tenure review process (Paige, 2003). Recognizing and rewarding faculty engagement where it is already happening can encourage other faculty members to engage, but it often does little to help faculty overcome initial barriers to participation.

Some IHE scholars have pointed to the lack of financial and institutional support as key barriers to faculty participation in internationalization (Green and Olson, 2003; Ellingboe, 1998; and Bond, 2003). As internationalization engagement involves additional work, international travel, and frequent time away from the office, it requires supportive colleagues and supervisors, flexible work policies, and financial support. Junior and contract faculty members who are not tenured are less likely to enjoy these benefits. Institutional support for Global South faculty members may be even more limited. In a study on international partnership engagement among faculty members in Sub-Saharan Africa, Thomas notes that "the rapidly expanding higher education sector is staffed largely by young instructors and lecturers who have minimal mentoring opportunities, demanding teaching loads, and limited research training" (2013, p. 3). This suggests that incentives alone are not sufficient; some faculty members may require additional support and flexibility to integrate an international dimension into their teaching, research, and service work.

Intrinsic and extrinsic faculty motivations. Motivation is a key aspect of engagement. Intrinsic motivations for international engagement may include personal goals, interests, values, connections, or a sense of responsibility. Extrinsic motivations may include employer expectations, rewards (e.g. grants, release time, cash awards), recognition, and reputation (Guentzel, 2009; Ward, 2003; Colbeck and Weaver, 2008). In a qualitative study on U.S. faculty engagement in student affairs partnerships, Guentzel found that faculty emphasized intrinsic motivations for participating (e.g. satisfaction, autonomy, pride in outcomes) and extrinsic barriers to participation (extra time and work, management issues, and insufficient compensation). This finding supports McKeachie's (1997) literature review on faculty motivation, which notes that faculty tend to attribute satisfaction to intrinsic factors and dissatisfaction to extrinsic factors. Guentzel concluded that the reasons faculty decided to get involved in the partnership in the first place (intrinsic factors) tended to outweigh the external barriers and disincentives to participation (extrinsic factors) and sustain faculty engagement in partnerships. This suggests that intrinsic motivations can help sustain faculty engagement in spite of external challenges.

Faculty motivations are closely linked to incentives and rewards (extrinsic motivations). Jaeger and Thornton (2006) and Furco (2001) suggest restructuring faculty compensation and promotion policies to encourage and reward faculty engagement. Financial compensation and institutional recognition also serve as important external incentives for faculty engagement. However, the need for compensation can sometimes overshadow intrinsic motivations, which McKeachie (1997) and Guentzel (2009) believe are necessary for sustained faculty engagement. The expectation of financial

compensation for participation raises concerns about sustained faculty engagement in UDPs, especially once short-term donor funding disappears.

Faculty global competencies. Successful international faculty engagement requires faculty members who are interested and able to take on the challenges and risks of international travel and collaboration. Childress (2010) argues that faculty need specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes to successfully engage in internationalization efforts. Green and Olson (2003) recommend developing faculty interest and capacity to expand their international work as an internationalization strategy. Paige and Mestenhauser (1999) describe these prerequisites for international engagement in terms of an 'international mindset.' This mindset includes "integrating knowledge from diverse sources and settings; understanding the impact of cultural variables in human affairs; thinking in an interdisciplinary manner and resisting reductionism; thinking comparatively; gaining the skills to transfer knowledge and technology from one cultural setting to another; knowing how to analyze context; and understanding global trends" (Paige, 2003, p. 58).

The idea of an international mindset is comparable to Sanderson's (2008) notion of the 'internationalization of the academic self.' Sanderson notes that faculty members work in "an environment that is more culturally, linguistically, and educationally diverse and more connected to, and influenced by, the global marketplace than ever before" (2008, p. 301). This is especially true for faculty working in international university partnerships. As fundamental part of an institution's internationalization efforts, Sanderson believes that the internationalization of the academic self can be developed

through cultural awareness, understanding of one's global interconnectedness, and critical self-reflection.

An international mindset akin to what Paige and Mestenhauser (1999) and Sanderson (2008) describe can be developed through a combination of international or intercultural experiences and critical self-reflection. This can lead to a self-perpetuating cycle whereby international experiences and mindsets lead to more international experiences and expanded worldviews. An international mindset can also help faculty overcome cultural and communication barriers in international partnerships, thus increasing their chances of success (Tedrow and Mabokela, 2007). Kot (2011) found that prior international experience and connections were key drivers of participation and success in international higher education partnerships.

With respect to university development partnerships, in which universities work with government and technical assistance agencies, it is important that individuals at all levels and organizations of the partnership possess an international mindset and global competencies. For example, Samoff (2004) notes that "the background, experiences, preparation, expectations, style, and sensitivity of key officials of the government and of the funding and technical assistance agencies generally have greater impact on the nature of the aid relationship and on the nature of development cooperation than the formal approach to education assistance" (p. 422). This underscores the importance of examining the mindsets, experiences, and competencies of participants and the extent to which participants are globally minded or engaged.

Faculty agency. International mindsets and global competencies are part of a broader construct in engagement literature, which is the concept of agency. Drawing on

perspectives from the fields of sociology, psychology, and organizational science, O'Meara, Campbell, and Terosky (2011) define agency as "taking strategic and intentional actions or perspectives toward goals that matter to oneself." Here, individual agency is viewed in terms of one's values (Sen, 1999), motivations (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995; Ford, 1992), and actions (Sen, 1999). Capability or self-efficacy beliefs and context beliefs are also relevant, as perceptions about one's own skills and environment influence individual motivations and actions (Bandura, 1977, 1982; Ford, 1992; Colbeck and Weaver, 2008). Thus, agency can be understood as a perspective as well as an action. As agency perspectives and actions are mediated by opportunities and constraints in one's immediate and surrounding context (DeJaeghere and Lee, 2011), the concept of agency is useful for understanding the individual, institutional, and broader contextual factors that shape faculty engagement in UDPs.

As individuals and institutions become increasingly embedded in global and transnational contexts through partnership, they rely upon collective efficacy to control their own destinies and environments (Bandura, 2001). "The stronger the perceived collective efficacy, the higher the groups' aspirations and motivational investment in their undertakings, the stronger their staying power in the face of impediments and setbacks, the higher their morale and resilience to stressors, and the greater their performance accomplishments" (Bandura, 2001, p. 14). The challenge is to successfully combine and coordinate different self-interests in the service of common goals. The concept of collective agency is also relevant for understanding faculty engagement within UDPs because individual faculty perspectives and actions alone are not sufficient to shape partnership outcomes. Faculty members and their institutions depend on the collective

agency of the partnership to accomplish its objectives while also meeting their own individual needs and goals.

Summary. This section reviewed the different ways that engagement is conceptualized through psychological, sociological, and organizational lenses in the fields of management, higher education, public engagement, and international higher education. This review of the literature suggests that successful faculty engagement in UDPs depends on faculty motivation and agency as well as an international mindset and a supportive institutional environment.

Conceptual Framework

Foundational concepts. Two broad concepts are central to the framing of this study that seeks to draw attention to faculty agency perspectives and actions within a university development partnership alongside the broader context and relations that shape them: 1) the transnational and transversal character of education policies and practices (Dobusch, Mader, & Quack, 2013; Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, 2017; Gomes, Robertson, & Dale, 2013) and individual faculty agency (Ahearn 2001; O'Meara, Campbell, & Terosky, 2011; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

Transnational and transversal education policies and practices. Policy is a deeply political and socially constructed process (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014). Even as economic, social, and political developments around the world become increasingly interdependent through globalization, local and national actors still influence how globalization unfolds (Dobusch et al., 2013). Carney's (2009) construct of a policyscape illustrates how policy ideas and pedagogical practices spread across different contexts. He describes a global policyscape as "an active battle between global forces and the state,

on one hand, and individuals and their educational identities, on the other" (Carney, 2009, p. 82). Gomes, Robertson, and Dale's (2013) multiscalar approach to higher education is also highly relevant. In their view, global reality is a "dispersed set of social processes and relations that operate through and between agency and structure" on multiple scales of varying size but no specific direction (Gomes et al., 2013, p. 162). Bartlett and Vavrus (2014, 2017) expand upon these and other sociocultural perspectives in their comparative case study approach,[5] which examines educational policies and practices along three dimensions: the vertical, horizontal, and transversal. Through this approach, they call attention to how education policies and practices unfold across time and space, in multiple sites and at different scales (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). Together, these transnational and transversal perspectives problematize the role of nation-states in global processes and view all actors as agentic beings with distinct perspectives, aims, and strategies. Since university development partnerships cross international development and higher education policyscapes, it is helpful to understand the many levels or scales at which these partnerships take shape and the individual perspectives and actions that shape them.

Faculty agency. The concept of agency is an important element of faculty engagement. At a broad level, agency can be understood as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" whereby "all action is socioculturally mediated, both in its production and its interpretation," (Ahearn, 2001, p. 112). In this study, agency is understood as "taking strategic and intentional actions or perspectives toward goals that matter to

[5] The comparative case study approach (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017) is a reconceptualization of the vertical case study approach by the same authors (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006; Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014), which now includes three axes: the vertical, the horizontal, and the transversal.

oneself" (O'Meara, Campbell, & Terosky, 2011). This definition suggests that taking a position can be as important as taking action. This understanding also makes it possible to consider the many forms of agency that do not produce observable actions. For example, acceptance, accommodation, willful disregard, and resistance are all important—and sometimes overlapping—forms of agency that are not always visible to all actors (Ahearn, 2001). This definition also emphasizes the interconnectedness of motivations and agency as individuals take perspectives or actions based on valued outcomes.

O'Meara and Campbell argue that "agency is not something that simply arises within a person; rather, it is constructed in a social and political context," (2011, p. 449). By focusing on agentic faculty engagement, this study draws attention to the ways in which faculty members' perspectives and behaviors within the partnership are continuously shaped by individual goals and beliefs as well as institutional and societal norms and expectations. Viewing agency within a sociocultural and political context also draws attention to the relational and temporal aspects of agency whereby actors continuously respond to and transform their structural environments based on their orientations towards the past, present, or future (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

A relational understanding of agency suggests that agency and structure are not fixed, but rather interrelated and mutable constructs. Torres and Schugurensky adopt a similar view when they argue that "global trends are promoted, resisted and negotiated differently" across institutions and national contexts (2002, p. 429). The temporal dimension of agency is best summarized by Aminzade's (1992, p. 470) observation that "historical actions and choices are deeply conditioned by how collective actors conceive

of the binding power of the past, the malleability of the future, or the capacities of actors to intervene in their immediate situations," (cited in Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 1011). In one example, O'Meara and Campbell (2011) found that faculty members' temporal assessments of professional capital—where faculty were or expected to be in their professional careers—influenced faculty agency in achieving work-life balance. This suggests that temporal assessments of professional capital might similarly influence faculty participation and agency in university development partnerships. The relevance of relational and temporal aspects of agency to this study is supported by Silk (2013), who argues that it is the individual partners who ultimately determine whether North-South collaborations lead to vertical or unequal relationships.

This dissertation applies the concepts of agency and the transnational and transversal nature of policy and practice to examine how faculty members engage in an international university development partnership. I build upon the assumption that history, geography, politics, and culture shape these partnerships, which unfold differently across national and institutional contexts and over time, but ultimately depend on the agency perspectives and actions of the individual faculty members within them.

Modeling international faculty engagement. The study is further guided by two synthesis models of international faculty engagement that emerged from the literature on faculty engagement and university development partnerships. The first synthesis model is the author's international faculty engagement model. This model considers faculty agency perspectives and behaviors across four dimensions: individual and professional, institutional, partnership, and geopolitical. The individual dimension includes personal and professional considerations. Personal factors found to influence faculty engagement

include gender, race/ethnicity, values, and motivations (Demb & Wade, 2012; Colbeck & Wharton-Michael, 2006; O'Meara, 2008). Relevant professional factors include level of education, tenure status, faculty position or rank, seniority or time in academia, disciplinary background, epistemology, knowledge, skills, and prior experiences (Demb & Wade, 2012; Colbeck & Wharton-Michael, 2006). O'Meara and Campbell (2011) describe markers of professional status as professional capital that faculty members accumulate at different stages in their career. They found that faculty members' assessments of their own professional capital can influence agency perspectives and decisions. Motivations and values are also important aspects of this dimension as the expectation of benefits and sense of purpose are what often drive faculty engagement. Motivations are shaped by goals and emotions as well as beliefs about one's own capabilities and context (Colbeck & Weaver, 2008). Personal traits, professional capital, goals and motivations, as well as self-efficacy and context beliefs are important parts of this dimension.

The institutional dimension is another key part of most faculty engagement models. This dimension addresses organizational structures and cultures that support or hinder faculty engagement. The way institutions create shared meaning and set priorities are important because they influence faculty perceptions and behaviors (Wade & Demb, 2009). Institutional types, prestige, norms, missions, leadership, resources, policies, and programs have all been identified as important influences on faculty engagement (Wade & Demb, 2012; Wade & Demb, 2009; Colbeck & Wharton-Michael, 2006; Holland, 2005; Fitzgerald, Bruns, Sonka, Furco, & Swanson, 2012). Faculty evaluation and reward systems have also received a lot of attention for their influence on faculty work. Most

faculty engagement scholars have emphasized the importance of faculty tenure, promotion, and hiring practices as well as academic publications—a key component of most faculty evaluations (O'Meara, 2002; Childress, 2010; Holland, 2005; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). These can either be incentives or obstacles to faculty engagement in university development partnerships, depending on how well they align with faculty work in such partnerships. Faculties and academic departments can be viewed as sub-organizations, each with its own leadership, identity, policies, norms, and resources (Campbell & O'Meara, 2014). The institutional dimension considers factors related to entire universities as well as the departmental and disciplinary sub-divisions within them.

The partnership or project dimension is an important element of this global and critical model of faculty engagement. Partnership roles and activities are manifestations of resource, power, and representation asymmetries in the global knowledge economy. Since most university development partnerships are designed and funded by donors in the Global North, they tend to privilege Global North perspectives and assumptions about international development and the role of higher education in the global knowledge economy. The partnership dimension enables critical reflection on the position of donors and university members within the partnership and how their assumptions and actions affect faculty engagement across the partnership. Considering the partnership as its own dimension draws attention to this transnational space in which faculty members interact with other actors and structures in the name of partnership.

Finally, the geopolitical dimension focuses on national and global realities that account for differences in resources, power, and representation within university development partnerships. Faculty members engaged in university development

partnerships do not simply work across different countries; they traverse different cultural norms, political histories, and economic circumstances, as well as the ideological and logistical challenges they engender. The geopolitical dimension is absent from most faculty engagement models that focus on individuals and their institutions, but important for a global and critical understanding of faculty engagement.

The international faculty engagement model is complemented by an international university partnership model that is derived from a review of the international university partnership literature and builds upon Wilson's (2012) cross-border university-to-university partnership process model. According to Wilson's (2012) model, all international partnerships go through four stages: initiation, negotiation, implementation, and conclusion. Each stage encompasses its own set of issues and dynamics that affect university partnerships and faculty perceptions of their success. Issues of faculty motivations and responsibilities, the role of faculty champions, the importance of communication and transparency, and the maintenance of benefits and funds are key aspects of this model. My adaption adds a fifth stage to this model: *design*, initiation, negotiation, collaboration, and conclusion, and incorporates additional considerations at each stage.

The design phase of the international university partnership model draws attention to whose perspectives are represented in determining the partnership structure and activities and how much influence, if any, faculty members have in this process. The initiation phase considers faculty motivations or reasons for becoming involved in the partnership to understand how faculty participants expect to benefit from partnership involvement and what partnership outcomes they seek. Faculty members' lived

experiences—including past partnership experiences and views of historical and political events—are also expected to influence faculty perspectives at this early stage in the partnership. The third stage of partnership, the negotiation stage, is the point at which partners come together and negotiate their relationship considering each partner's interests and capabilities. This is when partnership compatibility issues are likely to surface. Faculty agency may be more easily observed during the initiation stage as partners attempt to use their influence to shape the partnership in favorable ways.

The collaboration stage is where partners try to work together to implement partnership activities. Faculty capability and context beliefs are likely to shape faculty engagement as institutional, geographic, and cultural differences present ongoing challenges to collaboration. The final stage is the project conclusion stage. Faculty perceptions of success and sustainability are important considerations when determining whether and in what ways the partnership will continue after project funding ends. It is anticipated that these five critical stages of partnership present opportunities for faculty members to express or exert agency perspectives in university development partnerships. Examining faculty agency perspectives at critical stages of the U.S.-Colombian human rights partnership (HRP) draws attention to the ways in which faculty engagement shifts over the course of the partnership as relationships evolve and circumstances change.

Together, these two synthesis models (depicted in Figures 1 and 2) address the critical dimensions and stages of faculty engagement in university development partnerships as they occur over short-term, externally funded projects. These four dimensions of faculty engagement and five stages of university development partnerships

provide a relational, temporal, and faculty-centered framing of agency to examine a more holistic understanding of faculty engagement in university development partnerships. The concepts and models described in this section represent the conceptual framework for this study that seeks to understand what university development partnerships mean and accomplish for faculty participants facing very different sets of opportunities and constraints.

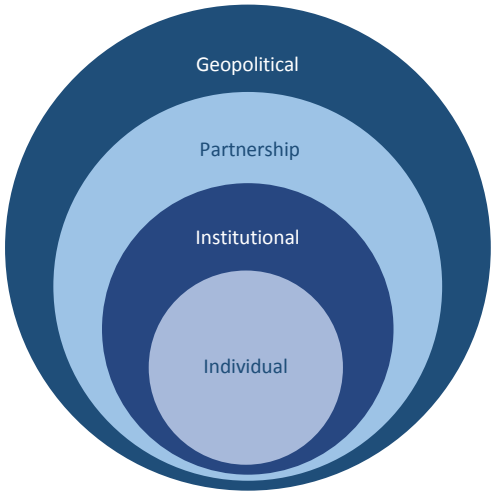

Figure 1: Dimensions of International Faculty Engagement

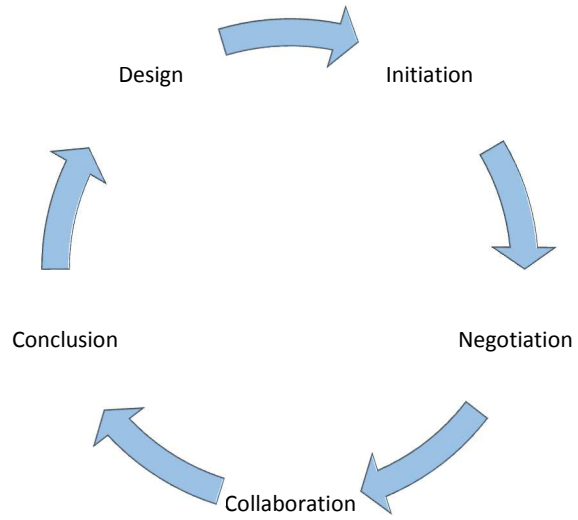

Figure 2: Stages of University Development Partnerships

This framework informed the following research questions:

1. How do faculty members understand the opportunities and constraints of their engagement in the U.S.-Colombian human rights partnership?
    a. What factors or processes do faculty participants perceive to be most influential in their engagement?
    b. How does faculty engagement vary across and at different stages of the U.S.-Colombian human rights partnership?

I now turn to the methodology I used to examine these questions.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology used in this study. It briefly reviews the purpose and questions that guided this study before discussing the overall research design, case selection, and how the researcher's background influenced the selection of this research topic and site. The next section describes the sampling, data collection, and data analysis procedures. It concludes with a discussion of the study's limitations and ethical research considerations.

Research Design

A qualitative case study was selected as the research design for this study because it offers insight on a new and poorly understood phenomenon (Merriam, 2009). Case study methods are suitable for research focused on real-life phenomena in which the context is important (Yin, 2009). A qualitative case study design enables the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon or bounded system and the meaning it has for participants (Hancock and Algozzine, 2011). In support of case study for educational research, Shields (2007) explains:

> The strength of qualitative approaches is that they account for and include difference—ideologically, epistemologically, methodologically—and most importantly, humanly. They do not attempt to eliminate what cannot be discounted. They do not attempt to simplify what cannot be simplified. Thus, it is precisely because case study includes paradoxes and acknowledges that there are no simple answers, that it can and should qualify as the gold standard (p. 13, cited in Merriam, 2009, p. 52-53).

Due to its ability to capture nuance and complexity, case study allows the researcher to account for critical and diverse contextual factors that are not always easy to identify a priori, which is necessary in quantitative approaches. And even then, "there will always be too many 'variables' for the number of observations made" (Hartley, 2004, p. 324). Case study, therefore, contributes to a greater understanding of the general phenomenon under investigation by providing a rich description of the context in which it occurs.

Case Selection. The Human Rights Partnership (HRP) allows for an in-depth exploration of faculty engagement within a contemporary but poorly understood phenomenon—university development partnerships (UDPs). The HRP was purposefully selected as an information-rich case that exhibits the characteristics of typical U.S. government-funded UDPs in terms of its design and implementation. The HRP was funded by USAID and managed by Higher Education for Development (HED), an international development organization that has managed over 400 university development partnerships since its establishment in 1992. Furthermore, the HRP followed HED's typical partnership process described in chapter two.

Comparative Case Study Approach. The comparative case study approach examines how policies and practices unfold across three different axes: vertical, horizontal, and transversal (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). The vertical axis of this approach calls attention to the need to examine faculty engagement across different scales. In this study, the four dimensions of international faculty engagement—individual, institutional, partnership, and geopolitical—constitute the vertical axis. While it is helpful to delineate these different dimensions in order to give each dimension due attention in the course of

analysis, Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) caution that these dimensions should not be treated as distinct and unrelated, but rather as having an influence on other dimensions. The horizontal axis considers how policies and practices play out in different physical and socially-constructed locations. The horizontal dimension allows for a comparison across the seven institutions (a donor agency, an intermediary development agency, and five universities) in two different countries (the United States and Colombia) that make up the human rights partnership (HRP). Finally, the transversal axis historically situates the complex relationships and processes that make up the HRP, facilitating a critical and temporal assessment of faculty engagement within it.

This study initially followed an embedded case study design (Yin, 2009) to examine a single case (the HRP), while also giving attention to the many embedded units of analysis within the partnership (faculty members and their respective universities and countries) as well as the surrounding geopolitical context. However, after data collection began and the study evolved, a comparative case study approach (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017) seemed better suited for this study, namely because it facilitated the 'unbounding' of the phenomenon under investigation. Thus, rather than viewing the HRP as a bounded system in which faculty engagement occurs, the HRP became a lens through which it was possible to examine the phenomenon of faculty engagement in university development partnerships more broadly.

Researcher's Background

Personal and practical considerations also influenced the selection of the U.S.-Colombian Human Rights Partnership (HRP) as the basis for this case study. Studying abroad in Argentina and Spain, two Spanish-speaking countries with a history of

repressive dictatorships, sparked my interest in human rights, especially in the context of Latin America. I returned to the U.S. for my senior year of college and started volunteering with Colombia Support Network, a non-governmental organization committed to peace, solidarity, and social justice for Colombian communities affected by decades of armed conflict, civil strife, and internal displacement. Colombia Support Network was my introduction to the beautiful country of Colombia and the complexities of international development. On my subsequent trips to Colombia, I attended a conference for human rights victims, listened to stories of Colombians whose livelihoods were threatened by Colombia's decades-long civil war, and met some of the brave grassroots activists, politicians, and human rights lawyers who defended them. These individuals and their stories have stayed with me. They inspire me to speak on behalf of those who do not have the privilege to be heard.

Years later, at the University of Minnesota, I have had the fortunate opportunity to work as an evaluator for two different international development partnerships—one focusing on youth entrepreneurship education and the other on global health education. My involvement in these projects led to a desire help aid organizations better understand university dynamics and strengthen faculty collaboration across institutional and national differences. This study and the U.S.-Colombian Human Rights Partnership at its center represent a serendipitous combination of my research interests and international development experiences. My background knowledge of the human rights situation in Colombia and experience working within university development partnerships provided important insights into the complexities and nuance of this case that I might not otherwise have captured through document reviews and interviews alone.

Participants

This study employed criterion-based sampling to identify study participants (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2014). Faculty and staff who played a key role in initiating the partnership or who were involved in an academic or programmatic support capacity for at least one year were invited to participate. Most participants were identified in advance based on a review of project documents and initial discussions with HED staff and the partnership director. At least 3-5 potential participants were identified from each of the five partner universities, four in Colombia and one in the United States. This sampling allowed for comparisons within and among the five member universities, as well as between the U.S. and Colombia.

In addition to interviewing faculty participants—the primary focus of this study—this study included interviews with USAID and HED staff familiar with the HRP and other UDPs. The inclusion of international development and university partnership experts from USAID and HED provided a context for understanding the assumptions and intentions behind the HRP and how this partnership compared to similar UDPs they had supported.

Thirty-two faculty and staff members from seven different organizations were invited to participate in this study. Of the twenty-nine who participated, ten were men and nineteen were women. Thirteen participants worked at one of the three U.S. partner

institutions and sixteen worked at one of the four Colombian partner universities. Table 3 shows interview participant demographics by institution, gender, and level of education.

Table 3: Study Participants

Institutions	**# of Individuals Interviewed**	**Gender Breakdown**	**Highest Educational Degree (In Process/Obtained)**
U.S. Development Agency Partners: *USAID, HED*	5	Females: 3 Males: 2	Doctorate: 3 Masters: 1 Undisclosed: 1
U.S. University Partner: *State University*	8	Females: 5 Males: 3	Doctorate: 8
Colombian University Partners: *Libertad University,* *Trinidad University,* *Santa Cecilia University,* *University of Las Montañas*	16	Females: 11 Males: 5	Doctorate: 3 Masters: 12 Bachelors: 1
Total	**29**	**Females: 19** **Males: 10**	**Doctorate: 14** **Masters: 13** **Bachelors: 1** **Undisclosed: 1**

Data Collection

Data collection consisted primarily of in-depth interviews with faculty and staff engaged in the partnership. Interview data was supported by document analysis and field observation to achieve a convergence of evidence, also known as data triangulation (Merriam, 2009: Patton, 2014; Yin 2009). Data triangulation is particularly important in qualitative research where researchers can never fully capture an objective "reality." By using multiple sources of evidence and measures of the same phenomenon, data triangulation can strengthen the internal validity of a study (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009). Document review preceded and followed interviews and observations to provide context and substantiate evidence gathered through interviews and observations. All data was

collected over a nine-month period, from January 2015 until September 2015. The timing of the interviews coincided with the last eight months of the three-and-a-half-year project, which officially ended in September 2015.

Bottom-up approach. Colley's (2010) cautionary tale about the imbalance of cultural capital between interview subjects unintentionally influencing the prioritization and representation of data informed my approach to data collection and analysis in this study. In a study on the multi-dimensional power dynamics in mentoring relationships, Colley noticed that the mentors she interviewed possessed more cultural capital than their younger mentees and were better able to express themselves in interviews. This resulted in richer and more voluminous data from the mentors, which began to overwhelm to voices of the younger mentees. Because so much of the mentees knowledge was tacit and not easily put into words, it was difficult to code and represent their perspectives.

While all the participants in my study are highly educated and articulate, they do not all speak the same language or have the same level of familiarity with global development policy, another language in itself. As an American scholar and practitioner of university development partnerships, I recognize the inherent risk of privileging the perspectives of U.S. academics and practitioners whose language and experiences are similar to mine. I therefore took deliberate steps to be more attentive to the knowledge and experiences of Colombian academics and practitioners.

I designed a bottom-up approach to data collection and analysis to foreground the Colombian faculty members whose experiences are less familiar to me and whose perspectives are not as well represented in the literature on international partnerships. Taking a bottom-up approach, I conducted and coded interviews in the reverse order of

an interviewee's perceived influence over the partnership design. I interviewed Colombian participants first since they had the least influence over the design of the partnership and their experiences were most dissimilar to my own. I then interviewed U.S. faculty participants before finally interviewing HED and USAID staff. Almost all faculty interviews were conducted in person while most HED and USAID interviews were conducted over the phone. In following this general interview order, I attempted to challenge, or at least be mindful of, the tendency for practices, paradigms, and ideologies to flow from top to bottom or from north to south (Zeleza, 2012; Altbach, 2004). Aside from keeping the voices of Colombian participants fresh in my mind and reversing the flow of information, this strategy helped me uncover unexpected patterns or new areas of inquiry early in the data collection process that I could then explore or confirm in subsequent interviews.

Document review. Document review is a valuable and unobtrusive way to collect supplemental research information. Data collection began with a review of publically available documents pertaining to the HRP and its partners. Project materials (e.g. institutional needs assessment, project evaluation) and external communications (website and blog updates, newsletters, success stories) provided valuable information about the partnership and its participants. This information supported the selection of interview participants and refining of the interview protocol.

In preparation for the faculty interviews, I also reviewed curricula vitae (CVs) and university websites for faculty and institutional background information. Most of these documents were publicly available and posted online. After the interviews, many participants shared or referred me to additional documents for review. In some cases, I

requested and was given access to internal project documents to confirm or provide additional context to information gleaned from interviews.

Together, these documents provided valuable information about the partnership and substantiated evidence gathered from interviews and observations. Project materials provided additional insight into the inner workings of the partnership and helped pull together and make sense of some of the details that emerged from individual interviews. External communications were also informative in that they gave clues about how the partners wanted to portray themselves and who their primary audience was.

In-depth interviews. In-depth interviews with partnership faculty and staff formed a central part of this study, which focuses on faculty member engagement within the partnership. All faculty interviews were guided by a semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix A). Interview questions covered themes that were largely drawn from the literature on faculty engagement and international university partnerships. The semi-structured interview protocol for project staff at HED and USAID paralleled the faculty interview protocol but was adapted to address important themes that emerged from the faculty interviews.

The interview protocols helped guide the interviews from simple to slightly more difficult questions and reduced the likelihood of asking biased or leading questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). These semi-structured interview protocols contained open-ended questions to facilitate rich dialogue about faculty engagement in the partnership. This allowed the researcher to ask follow-up questions on important issues, elicit more detailed responses, and clarify the meaning of a question or response when necessary.

After identifying the study participants and developing the interview protocols and consent forms, I obtained approval from the University of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board to begin my study. All interviewees were informed of the purpose of my study and assured that their personal information would be kept confidential and their names would not be attached to any comments used in the report. I emailed or gave participants a paper copy of the participant information sheet and obtained verbal consent prior to initiating each interview. All interviews were digitally recorded with participant consent in order to produce written transcripts of each interview and ensure accuracy.

After completing faculty interviews in Colombia and then in the United States and identifying emerging themes and issues, I adapted the interview protocol for key informants at HED (the U.S. managing partner) and USAID (the donor agency). The inclusion of HED and USAID stakeholders at the end of the interview phase allowed me to follow up on key themes that emerged from faculty interviews and understand them in the context of the HRP and the broader phenomenon of university development partnerships.

All interviews were transcribed using f5 transcription software, which links typed text with the audio files for easy playback during the transcription and data analysis phase. This tool was particularly valuable for the Spanish interviews as it allowed me to check the original voice recording when something was unclear from the transcripts or my notes. For some of the Spanish interviews, I hired a professional transcriptionist fluent in Spanish to produce verbatim transcripts. Upon receipt of each transcript, I listened to the original interview recording while reading the transcript to check their accuracy and add notes or observations such as the tone of the interview. I also converted

these transcripts into the f5 software to facilitate in-text audio playback while coding the data in MAXQDA. All interviews were transcribed in their original language since the researcher is proficient in both English and Spanish.

Language issues. The language barrier was a frequently mentioned challenge for HRP participants and one that I needed to deal with in my own research. I am nearly fluent in Spanish, but I have not spoken it regularly for several years. To prepare for the interviews in Colombia, I personally translated the interview protocols and participant information sheets into Spanish and did Spanish language exercises to refresh my memory. When I arrived in Colombia, I hired a native Colombian speaker to proofread my translations and conduct a mock interview in Spanish.

I expected some of the Colombian participants to speak English more fluently than I spoke Spanish, but I nonetheless gave them all the option to interview in either English or Spanish. I wanted them to feel comfortable expressing themselves in the interview and I did not want language difficulties to limit what they shared with me. Every Colombian interviewee opted to interview in Spanish. Fortunately, all of them were patient with my Spanish and gave me opportunities to ask for clarification when needed. Those who were proficient in English allowed me to paraphrase what I understood in English, or occasionally switched to English when a word or meaning was getting lost in translation. Having a Spanish interview protocol and digital voice recorder helped to minimize translation issues.

Timeline. Initial document review began in January 2015 whereby I collected publically available information about the HRP and its partners and developed a list of potential participants from each partner institution. Interviews occurred in three main

phases consistent with my bottom-up approach to data collection. In the first phase, I spent the month of February 2015 in Medellín visiting three of the four partner Colombian university campuses, participating in project meetings and activities, and interviewing faculty participants. In finished transcribing the interviews with Colombian faculty before conducting interviews with U.S. faculty between April and June 2015, which formed the second phase of interviews. Once faculty interviews were transcribed and initial themes were identified, I began the third and final phase of interviews with key informants at HED and USAID who were familiar with the HRP and university development partnerships in general. These interviews were conducted over the phone, whereas most faculty interviews were conducted in person. The last interview phase concluded in September 2015, the same month that HED permanently closed its office.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis is an ongoing process that occurs alongside data collection (Maxwell, 2012; Merriam, 2009). Analysis can occur during and between data collection activities (Merriam, 2009). In this study, data analysis began with writing field notes and analytic memos throughout the entire data collection process. I carried a notebook with me throughout the data collection phase to record interview notes, key people or events, initial impressions, emerging themes, surprises, new areas of inquiry, and potential next steps in my study. Soon, these initial impressions morphed into broader narratives and charts that drew tentative connections between emerging themes and concepts and reflected on the continued relevance of my conceptual framework. This notebook became a collection of early field notes and analytic memos that captured the evolution of my thinking in chronological order.

Data analysis was both concept and data driven. Concept-driven analysis uses pre-determined codes from the literature to guide the analysis whereas data-driven analysis allows key themes to emerge from the data (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009, O'Meara et al, 2013). This hybrid approach to data analysis, a combination of inductive and deductive techniques, benefits from an organizational structure informed by the literature, while also being flexible enough to incorporate emergent and substantive themes.

The MaxQDA software program served as the primary data analysis tool for this study. Following the same bottom-up approach I used to collect the data, I coded the Colombian faculty interview transcripts first. I initially followed a process of inductive or open coding (Merriam, 2009, p. 178), whereby I created codes for all potentially interesting bits of data that emerged from the interviews. Starting with an inductive coding approach was particularly important for this study since the experiences of international faculty members are largely missing from the literature on faculty engagement and international university partnerships that helped frame this study. Furthermore, emergent categories are likely to capture richer and more relevant data than pre-determined categories based on borrowed concepts (Merriam, 2009; Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

I employed in vivo coding (Saldaña, 2015) as a technique to keep the codes as close to the participants' own language as possible. This technique helped me prioritize the voice of the participants and keep the initial codes rooted in the data and the participants' own words. In some cases, this allowed me to put the words of U.S. and Colombian participants in dialogue with one another.

After inductively coding each transcript or document, I reviewed the codes and tried to group similar codes together under a new, broader category. This process is sometimes called axial or analytical coding (Merriam, 2009). This was an iterative process whereby codes were constantly renamed or regrouped as new data confirmed or challenged previous categories. This process is widely known as the constant comparative method (Merriam, 2009). Throughout this process, attention was paid to discrepant data that did not support or contradicted emerging patterns.

Organizational categories helped make sense of and bring structure to the growing list of preliminary codes. Organizational codes reflected the four dimensions of the international faculty engagement model and relevant concepts such as motivation, agency, and perceptions of success and sustainability. I noted emerging patterns and relationships and documented the coding process and structure in a collection of analytic memos. Once I decided to organize the findings chapter according to the five stages of international university partnerships, I re-mapped code groups onto those five stages based on the stages in which they appeared most influential or explanatory. Table 4 provides an example of what this process looked like in practice.

Table 4: Illustrative Example of the Coding Process

In Vivo Codes	**Code Groups**	**Organizational Coding, Part 1: Faculty Engagement Dimension**	**Organizational Coding, Part 2: Partnership Stage**
We don't work as collaboratively as some US institutions	Teamwork	Geopolitical & Cultural Context	Partnership Initiation Stage
Hay mucha endogamia en las universidades Colombianas			
For you, it is normal to think that team work exists			

I was shocked by how open (US) faculty were			
We didn't know anything about Colombia	Contextual Knowledge	Geopolitical & Cultural Context	Partnership Initiation Stage
I never claimed to be a Colombian expert and I think that has been a benefit			
If US universities want to work in Colombia, they need to know Colombia			
They can't teach here if they don't know what happens here			

Limitations

Researcher positionality. Case study research is limited by the ability and integrity of the researcher, who is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). A case study researcher is largely left to rely on her own instincts and abilities, which can be problematic in instances where the researcher is not well-trained in case study research or selectively shares data in a way that manipulates the overall findings and conclusions. To promote accuracy, I created full interview transcripts and used research memos and a code book throughout the data collection and analysis process. Quotes were identified based on their ability to provide depth and clarity on an issue or represent a widely-held perspective. All quotes were labeled with a code number until the final stages of writing to ensure that they represented a range of participant voices.

As a form of interpretive research whereby the researcher attempts to derive meaning from data, qualitative case study research is subject to researcher bias (Creswell, 1994, Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). It is impossible to remove all researcher bias from qualitative research because the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. Nonetheless, identifying personal experiences, values, and beliefs that may

influence data collection and analysis and taking steps to limit such biases in the research process can help mitigate their interference in interpreting the data. My decision to pursue this research topic was influenced by prior work on human rights in Colombia and university development partnerships. My observation of the power inequalities inherent in university and development partnerships and the underrepresentation of scholarship from Latin America in the international development literature compelled me to seek out Colombian perspectives in this partnership. Not wanting my own interpretations to overshadow the voices of the participants, I relied on quotes to provide rich descriptions and direct accounts of personal experiences where possible. I also carefully translated quotes from Spanish to English to ensure they stayed true to the original statements.

Ethics. The guiding principle for researchers is to do no harm. As a researcher, it was important to consider how my research might cause harm to my research participants as well as to the broader society. All participants in this study were informed of the purpose of the study and the voluntary nature of their participation. To keep the risk to participants low, I removed names and other personally identifying information from quotes and references and used pseudonyms when necessary.

Transferability. Since this case study consists of one specific university development partnership between U.S. and Colombian institutions, the results from this study are not directly transferable to other contexts. The case method can, however, be applied to similar studies for comparison and benchmarking. It is hoped that the international faculty engagement model will provide a useful framework for analyzing faculty engagement in other types of international partnerships.

Chapter Five: Initial Faculty Engagement

The next two chapters present the findings of this study according to the five key stages of international university partnerships: design, initiation, negotiation, collaboration (implementation), and conclusion. This chapter explores faculty engagement in the initial three stages of partnership while the following chapter examines faculty engagement in the middle and concluding stages. It was anticipated that these five partnership stages would provide a lens through which faculty agency perspectives and actions could be observed in greater detail. Within each stage, attention is given to faculty agency perspectives and actions as they relate to the four dimensions of the international faculty engagement model: individual/professional, institutional, partnership, and geopolitical/cultural.

Project Design

USAID and HED played a heavy hand in the initial conception and design of the HRP. U.S. and Colombian faculty participants were brought into the partnership at a later stage, meaning they had limited agency in this initial phase. Nonetheless, the decisions made during this stage had profound implications for faculty engagement throughout the life of the partnership. Early project decisions and their effect on faculty engagement in the HRP are described below.

Project background. The human rights partnership project was conceived by USAID's Mission office in Bogotá with the stated purpose of developing a culture of human rights in Colombia. USAID partnered with HED to design and build three different university partnerships between U.S. and Colombian universities to develop Colombian human rights education and outreach capacity and train future legal

professionals in Colombia. This project was designed without any specific partner institutions in mind. It was described as a "design and build" partnership whereby HED identified Colombian university partners according to their perceived need and fit with the project objectives and selected U.S. implementing university partners for their human rights expertise. After signing an award agreement with USAID, HED sent four human rights experts from the U.S. and Colombia to five different regions in Colombia with a high prevalence of human rights violations to conduct an institutional assessment. According to the assessment, its purpose was to assess institutional interest and capacity in human rights education and outreach and recommend potential Colombian university partners for three different university partnership projects. The resulting assessment assisted HED in selecting eight beneficiary universities in three different regions of Colombia. Each partnership corresponded to a different region. The authors of the assessment also recommended general areas for university collaboration such as human rights curriculum development, clinic strengthening, community outreach, and faculty development.

Once the Colombian beneficiary universities were identified, HED issued a public Request for Applications (RFA) to select U.S. implementing partner universities. Colombian universities did not play any role in the review or selection process, but HED did encourage U.S. partners to communicate with Colombian universities prior to applying. Applications were peer reviewed by outside evaluators following specific criteria and recommendations were forwarded to USAID for approval. This concluded the project design and university selection phase of the HRP in which USAID and HED played prominent roles.

Faculty involvement. Faculty members contributed to the partnership design on a very limited basis. Colombian faculty members were engaged merely as key informants during two information-gathering stages: first, as part of an institutional needs assessment to determine which Colombian universities would be invited to participate and, second, during an open request for applications in which interested U.S. universities were encouraged to contact key point persons from selected Colombian universities. Interested U.S. faculty members were invited to submit proposals after the Colombian partners and project objectives had already been identified. In other words, Colombian and U.S. faculty member input was solicited at different points in the design phase, but for narrow and specific purposes. As a result, U.S. and Colombian HRP participants were not very involved in the design project and reported having very little knowledge of or influence over the initial partnership design.

Institutional assessment. Several Colombian faculty participants interacted with members of the assessment team during the initial site visits, but most Colombian participants remained unaware of the process or criteria for selecting Colombian universities. Some Colombian faculty members who informed the assessment believed that its purpose was to simply to understand Colombian university capacity in human rights. Faculty members were not explicitly asked about their interest in joining a human rights university partnership, and some were not even aware that a partnership was already planned. For example, a Colombian faculty member who served as an institutional liaison throughout the selection process admitted that even he did not fully understand the purpose of the initial site visit until after it was completed:

> They came here because they wanted to meet with some professors who worked on human rights in the [law] faculty, to look at the human rights needs of the faculty… They also told us that they were doing a consultancy for USAID and for the possibility of funding a program…Afterwards, we learned that there was already a program of cooperation promoted by USAID and HED which sought to strengthen the capacities of human rights defenders in the regions (outside of Bogotá).

According to Colombian participants, the site visits did not provide ample opportunity for Colombians to learn about the partnership nor did it inquire about institutional interest and commitment to forming a partnership with other U.S. and Colombian institutions. The resulting assessment provided an objective and comparative evaluation of state of human rights and clinical education at each of the visited institutions, but it did not discuss their suitability for partnership. The institutional assessment appears to have been weakened by the fact that it was conducted by contractors who possessed limited information about the project it was meant to inform. Furthermore, Colombian faculty members and administrators were not fully engaged in the process. They supplied the evaluators with information, but they were not fully aware of its implications. The institutional assessment missed a valuable opportunity to convey information about the project to potential members and reflect on the appropriateness of joining such a partnership. Confusion about the purpose of the partnership among Colombian faculty members and their role in it continued to hamper partnership relations long after the partnership design stage concluded.

U.S. partner application process. U.S. faculty participants were invited to apply as the implementing partner institution after the Colombian partners were already selected. U.S. universities were given a report of the Colombian institutional assessment and contact information for each of the Colombian universities and were encouraged to initiate contact before applying. U.S. participants described the proposal process as rather unusual and rushed since they did not have much knowledge about the Colombian human rights context or their potential partners and had only a few months to gather information and prepare a proposal. "We didn't know the Colombia team and we had to call down the line and say there is this project, would you like to join with us? It was a little unusual," said one faculty member. "It was really rushed. I remember sitting in my car on vacation having telephone calls," recalled another faculty member. The quote below demonstrates how the U.S. university team quickly mobilized to learn enough about the Colombian context in order to put together a successful proposal in amount of time.

> None of us of course knew anything about Antioquia and the strange way that these proposals are created. Basically, they pick the schools, they pick the project, they pick everything and you just say, do I fit here? I thought we fit very well but that doesn't mean we knew the partners or anything about the partners. So, we engaged, we networked with all of our friends who worked in Colombia. I had never worked in Colombia…But we started networking and everyone kept referring us to [the University of] Los Andes and Bogotá and we're like no, that's not where this is. So, then we set up interviews with the professors…We had Skype interviews to talk to them about what they wanted. And that provided us

with some more information…One of our wonderful Colombian graduate students translated.

Although U.S. applicants could submit a proposal for any one of three U.S.-Colombian university partnerships, faculty at State University only reached out to members of two of the three partnerships before deciding to apply for the partnership in the Antioquia region.

> We had good interviews with them and we liked them, especially Las Montañas. We felt like there was an obvious parallel there as a state university and they had a level of programming that indicated that we would benefit from that experience. So, we decided to go for the Antioquia grant. That was how it came about...There was a really tight deadline for getting this done. Once we had those conversations with Antioquia, we felt that it was the best fit and we didn't pursue anything further.

By design, Colombian partners were only minimally engaged in the U.S. selection process. The role of the Colombian faculty members was limited to providing information to potential U.S. applicants who reached out to them. Furthermore, Colombian partners were not formally consulted when the U.S. university partner was selected. This was typical of other HED-managed partnerships. An HED staff member speculated that if host country universities were consulted, "probably everybody, if they had their choice, would partner with one or four or five ivy league universities as a first choice."

Although Colombian partners were not given a formal opportunity to help select the U.S. partner, a Colombian faculty member pointed out that they had some influence

in this process because they controlled the flow of information to U.S. applicants. He explained:

> We did not take part in the decision. They made the decision there [in the U.S.]. They did not ask us…But we were very happy when we learned that State had been selected.
>
> AP: That's lucky.
>
> Yes. In part, I believe that because we achieved good communication [with them], we gave more information so that State was able to develop a better proposal.

This faculty member did not give any indication that they intentionally withheld information from other applicants to influence the results, although it is theoretically possible. His point was that establishing a good personal relationship through these initial calls facilitated the flow of useful information, which helped both sides achieve their desired result.

The pre-application process gave U.S. and Colombian faculty members a small sense of agency in the design process because it provided faculty members with an opportunity to introduce themselves, learn more about one other, and assess the potential for collaboration. But this exchange only occurred when the U.S. applicants initiated contact. Additionally, these exchanges were limited by the short application window whereby U.S. applicants only had a few months to gather information and prepare a proposal.

For both U.S. and Colombian faculty members, limited access to information about the partnership and few formal opportunities to interact with project stakeholders restricted faculty engagement in the design phase. Two key partnership design activities

marginally facilitated faculty member access to information and influence during the partnership design phase: the Colombian institutional assessment and the U.S. university application process. A handful of Colombian faculty members participated in both stages, but they served primarily as key informants and point persons and were given few formal opportunities to weigh in on project decisions. Colombian participants might have had more influence in the partnership design if they had a better understanding of the project and engaged in open and honest discussions about their intended role in the resulting partnership. As the designated project experts, U.S. faculty participants had more direct input on partnership activities, but their agency was limited by their minimal understanding of the Colombian context and the short time frame in which they had to learn about the universities and submit a proposal.

Allowing more time for this process and creating formal opportunities for potential partners to interact with one another and provide input about the partnership design could have given faculty on both sides of the partnership more agency in this phase. According to an HED staff member, the agency had already experimented with an approach to accommodate such opportunities, though it was not used for the HRP:

> We started using short-term planning grants as a precursor to the partnership model. We would fund a short six-month to one-year proposal development phase in which we would allow American institutions working with host country institutions to develop a proposal and the partnership modality. And that would give them time to create personal relationships on the ground. It provided money for extensive travel back and forth, not just for faculty but also for administrators, so that they can get a sense of the different institutional strengths and weaknesses,

> what the challenges were. Then, we'd go through the typical peer review, merit-based process. Those planning grants that were selected for proposal funding would then have another 90-day period on the ground once the partnership was underway to do baseline study and further ground truth the partnership and make any changes to the partnership framework and indicators that they felt were necessary once implementation got under way. As always happens, something unexpected arises that requires you to rethink what you're going to do.

As partnerships take time and resources to build, this solution helped partners mitigate some of the initial inefficiencies and delays that projects experience when setting up a partnership for the first time. Unfortunately, this additional phase is not possible for all aid-funded partnerships, because not all partnership timelines and budgets can accommodate the extra time and money required due to the way government procurement policies work.

Design inefficiencies. Given the high start-up costs and inefficiencies inherent in creating an international university partnership, some HRP stakeholders questioned the logic of developing a formal university partnership through the project. An external evaluation of the HRP pointed out that the requirement to work in partnership created project inefficiencies and high opportunity costs as valuable resources were directed towards partnership building at the expense of activity implementation. Most faculty members indicated that much of their time was consumed in meetings with other partners, managing partnership logistics, and trying to find common ground with other university partners to achieve project objectives. In practice, creating a partnership

around the project became an unofficial project objective that sometimes overshadowed and impeded the achievement of other project objectives.

Although working in partnership created many project-level inefficiencies, the ability to reach many universities through a single project may be viewed by donors as a more efficient use of program resources. However, it is possible that the same objectives and program-level efficiencies could be achieved through many universities working together to implement project activities instead of formalizing a multi-university partnership.

If creating a formal partnership is requirement for these types of projects, more attention should be given to the goals, operative conditions, and implications of working within a partnership model. External evaluators for the HRP did not find any evidence that the partnership model was given this level of attention in the design phase. They noted that partners were not assessed on their willingness or ability to support the partnership over the long-term. An exchange with a Colombian faculty participant makes this clear:

> We were [involved] from the beginning when USAID and HED sent evaluators to different universities in Antioquia and different universities in the country. And they came asking what work was already done in the law school in the area of human rights.
>
> AP: Was there a discussion about [the university's] interest [in the partnership]?
>
> They did not ask about interest. They asked about the work the universities were developing.

Similarly, a U.S. faculty participant regretted that the project did not explicitly acknowledge the benefits or expectations that working in partnership might produce for university partners. “Making it a very conscious part of the design of the project…puts the institutions on more equal footing,” she asserted. Given the lack of attention to the partnership process, evaluators concluded that the consortium created through the HRP was a “daring initiative, whose results owe more to the convergence of a series of factors rather than a sound planning process.”

Besides not giving adequate attention to the goals or conditions of partnership during the design phase, project designers may have underestimated the challenges of creating a partnership in the context of Colombia where university collaborations are rare. A Colombian faculty member explained that teamwork does not come naturally to Colombians. “For you, it is normal to think that teamwork exists, but for us, no. Each person is responsible for everything that he has to produce…Some do not do what they are supposed to do and others assume responsibility for everyone’s work. That is why it is so difficult to work in partnerships.” Working as a multi-university consortium to achieve project goals was especially challenging for Colombian faculty members who were unaccustomed to working in higher education partnerships of any kind.

Incompatible institutions. A common criticism of the partnership design was the fact that it brought together five completely different universities. The selection of seemingly incompatible partners for no clear reason was a source of genuine confusion and frustration among many faculty participants. As noted above, limited experience collaborating with faculty from other universities presented a challenge for Colombian faculty participants. These challenges were compounded as faculty members had to work

across significant institutional differences with no clear understanding of why they were grouped together in the first place.

More than two years into the partnership, most faculty members remained unaware of the criteria used to select beneficiary universities. “Truthfully, I do not know very well what were the criteria that were taken into account to evaluate why some universities were chosen and others not,” admitted a Colombian faculty member. The lack of transparency about the selection criteria and process puzzled many participants and led one faculty member to ask:

> What were the criteria? The project manager says that they selected the Medellín universities that demonstrated strengths in their human rights and clinical work, but some remain uncertain, because there are other faculties [of law] in the city that also have clinical strengths and they are absent [from the partnership].

Colombian faculty members who knew of other human rights expertise in the area through participation in a local public interest law clinic network wondered why some of that network’s members were not invited to participate.

Project documents gave no explanation for how or why the four Colombian university partners were selected. Consultants only visited four universities in the Antioquia region for the institutional assessment, but they offered no explanation for why they focused on those four universities instead of conducting an exhaustive assessment of all the law schools in the area with human rights expertise. The decision was likely driven by considerations of logistics and feasibility given the many different regions of Colombia the institutional assessment covered (they visited universities in five different regions) with finite time and resources. It is not known if or to what extent political

considerations factored in the decision to only focus on these four universities. Nonetheless, this decision had important consequences for the eventual partnership design as all four universities assessed by the team joined the HRP despite varying levels of human rights interest and capacity.

Without a clear understanding of how Colombian universities were selected, Colombian participants openly questioned why they were grouped with such different institutions. The remainder of this section summarizes the defining characteristics of each of the four Colombian universities and how they influenced faculty collaboration in the HRP. The University of Las Montañas is one of Colombia's oldest public universities and is widely regarded as one of the top universities in Colombia. It is a large public research university with regional campuses spread across the department (the Colombian equivalent of a U.S. state). As a public institution, the University of Las Montañas promotes equality of opportunity regardless of socio-economic status, political ideology, race, gender, or religion, and has a strong history and commitment to serving the local community. The University of Las Montañas has a strong human rights program that provides legal services to members of its community who are victims of Colombia's armed conflict and internal displacement. Many Las Montañas faculty understood that being a public law school and defending human rights went hand in hand given Colombia's current situation. "We are a public university and we have always felt that the topic of human rights is one of the fundamental issues in the training of our lawyers," explained a law professor at Las Montañas. As the only large public research university of the Colombian contingent, Las Montañas had more academic interests in common with its U.S. university partner than it did with any of its three Colombian counterparts.

Although many Las Montañas faculty members expressed a preference for working with the U.S. university, most HRP activities required them to work in close coordination with their Colombian partners.

Trinidad University was founded in the mid 1900s as a private Catholic university. Trinidad's law school programs and activities are influenced by the University's Catholic tradition and benefit from close ties with the private sector. For example, faculty typically avoid human rights topics that are not widely embraced and somewhat controversial within the global Catholic community, such as LGBT rights. Traditionally, most of the law school's clinical activities dealt with private law cases and many graduates go on to work in the private sector. While Trinidad's law school is not widely known for human rights law, a small group of its faculty members have a background or interest in human rights. Most of these individuals had done some form of postgraduate study at another institution prior to or after joining the law faculty.

Libertad University was founded in the mid 1900s as a private nonsectarian university. Libertad's commitment to education regardless of one's background or affiliations helps explain its diverse student body. According to its statement of corporate social responsibility, Libertad plays a civic role in promoting human rights, respect for the environment, and economic development. While the law school's expertise in human and environmental rights fits with its social responsibility mission, it is the only HRP member with a strong background and interest in environmental rights.

The fourth and final Colombian HRP member is Santa Cecilia University, a private Catholic university located in Eastern Antioquia. It is the youngest and smallest of the four Colombian university partners and the only one based in rural Colombia. Santa

Cecilia was founded to address the pressing needs of the Eastern Antioquia region, which has suffered greatly due to Colombia's armed conflict. Emphasizing the importance of this university to its community, one faculty member stated, "Santa Cecilia is the only university in the East so it is the ship of salvation for an individual who wants to become a professional." Santa Cecilia fledgling human rights programs and services are oriented towards the needs of its surrounding community which has directly experienced violence and displacement amid Colombia's armed conflict.

In summary, strong and different institutional cultures were frequently mentioned by Colombian participants as barriers to faculty engagement in the HRP. This is partially a reflection of the partnership and case study design which consists of four Colombian universities and one U.S. university. The proximity of the four Colombian universities and frequent interactions of Colombian participants made the differences between them more apparent and consequential. Colombian faculty members also reported feeling ill-equipped to work across institutional differences given their limited collaboration experience. Participants attributed this to a class-based and regionalist Colombian culture and the competitive nature of Colombian universities. Moreover, Colombian universities tend to "train their own," which further limits the movement of students and faculty between different Colombian universities. This reinforces strong institutional cultures and hinders collaboration among Colombian institutions of higher education

Faculty members viewed the grouping of markedly different institutions—each with their own identity, interests, and strengths—as a major oversight during the design phase. As one Colombian participant remarked,

> There were no previous relationships, similar topics, or political affinities. So how were these universities selected? How did they plan this network without them having anything in common? That was always very curious to me.

According to participants, this questionable grouping of universities made it difficult for faculty participants to find common ground and collaborate on HRP activities. An HED staff member explained that this should be expected with international partnerships, saying, "there are going to be tensions, personality differences, institutional differences…and ways of doing things that are absolutely foreign from the other institution's standpoint." Although the pairing of very different institutions created some challenges and inefficiencies, it also brought together institutions that might not otherwise work together or know of each other's work. Indeed, a popular argument for providing short-term project funding is to initiate partnerships that might not otherwise partner due to a lack of familiarity or resources. Nonetheless, a comprehensive institutional assessment with specific and transparent selection criteria and careful consideration of partnership compatibility could reduce some of the inefficiencies and frustrations faculty members experienced in the HRP.

Reinforced hierarchies. The HRP was, by design, a partnership of unequal institutions. It was designed to strengthen the education and outreach capacity of Colombian universities and support human rights reform within Colombia. That is, it was designed for the express benefit of the Colombian universities, and by extension, Colombian faculty members, students, and community members. Accordingly, the Colombian universities were identified through a needs assessment. By contrast, the U.S. university was assigned the role of implementing partner and selected through a

competitive application process based on the strength of its proposal and collective expertise in human rights education. The resulting expert-beneficiary relationship between U.S. and Colombian universities made it clear that U.S. and Colombian faculty participants were not equal partners.

This frustrated many Colombian faculty members who resented the fact that U.S. faculty members who knew almost nothing about the Colombian human rights context could be deemed the experts in the context of this partnership about Colombian human rights education. The below quote of a Colombian faculty member captures this general sentiment that many Colombian faculty members felt when they first learned about the partnership:

> It does not seem sensible, in my view, that [a U.S.] university intends to teach a Colombian university to work in human rights when we have been living for more than half a century in a context where we have lived the harshness of violence and human rights violations. That has made us advance in those issues; it is experience in context. So, to believe that a university is going to come here and teach us what human rights are—and this was even reflected in some of the trainings that started at a baseline of zero—as if human rights were something that we do not have here?

For their part, some U.S. participants also acknowledged and expressed some discomfort or disagreement with the perceived expert-beneficiary dichotomy within the partnership. A U.S. faculty member lamented the fact that the project's emphasis on Colombian capacity building reinforced an unequal expert-beneficiary relationship. She explained:

> I think this particular partnership—because it's trying to impart a model of clinical education and creating the next generation of human rights defenders—may put State University in the role of the typical Northern player that is imparting knowledge on the South. And particularly so when you're in Medellín where things are not quite as developed around clinical education and you're carrying out litigation through the clinics. It does put State in a more typical role of the Global North helping along the Global South.

A university development partnership expert also raised this as a sensitive issue which USAID struggles with, saying:

> We have to be very careful that we are not perceived as "we're the experts and we're here to help you." We need to be sure people are very sensitive to how you engage and build capacity within the local system—not just show up, do your thing, and be gone.

The framing of the partnership as a capacity-building project in which the U.S. university partners were the experts and the Colombian partners were the beneficiaries caused frustration among participants who felt that Colombian expertise and experience in human rights was not sufficiently recognized or leveraged in the partnership design. This strained partner relations and limited faculty engagement early in the partnership.

Whereas the expert-beneficiary dynamic of the HRP suggested an unequal power dynamic between U.S. and Colombian partners, the partnership contract and cascading model of sub-agreements made this explicit. USAID set up a cooperative agreement with HED to manage the HRP. HED then set up a sub-agreement with the selected U.S. university to implement partnership activities and manage day-to-day financial and

administrative responsibilities. At the bottom of the chain were the Colombian universities. They operated as a consortium with one university—the only partner with prior experience working on a USAID project—acting as the administrative and financial body. This set up was presumably designed for the purposes of accountability and expediency. An HED staff member guessed as much:

> I think the way it is structured is because it is easier to manage financially…We are not implementers, we don't know the work that goes on on the ground. So that is why we have U.S. institutions giving money to the [local] universities—because they know what the universities have been doing more closely than we do. We manage—I think we had 33 partnerships open around the world. And before that there were 70 plus. And each one has 2,3,4, 5, 6, or 7 partners. So, it would be very challenging to have direct sub-awards with local [institutions].

A series of sub-agreements made it possible for USAID, HED, and State University to only deal with one sub-awardee at a time while also establishing clear lines of accountability and responsibility for the sake of simplicity. In effect, however, it meant that Colombian universities were several layers removed from the donor and had little influence over administrative and financial decisions. This was a common point of frustration among Colombian faculty members who did not fully understand the decisions made on behalf of the partnership and felt a heavy administrative burden due to the partnership's highly bureaucratic structure.

The vertical structure of accountability was not ideal for U.S. partners either. An HED staff member acknowledged that the sub-awarding process may present administrative challenges and financial risks for the U.S. universities:

> In the earlier years when the amounts of the awards were small and the time duration was shorter, it was less of an issue for American university risk management policies to transfer small amounts of money or do purchases on behalf of host country universities overseas. As the award amount and time periods increased…the risk management concerns of American universities were relatively problematic.

The risks to U.S. universities continue to escalate, this individual noted, as partnership award amounts now regularly exceed one million U.S. dollars (with some as high as 9 million dollars) and increasing proportions are expected to go to host country institutions as sub-awards.

Beyond the administrative burden and financial risk this structure created for the U.S. university partner, some faculty members felt that their position within this structural hierarchy complicated their relationship with their partners. Some U.S. faculty members found themselves in the uncomfortable situation of managing the partnership rather than working in partnership with Colombian universities. As a U.S. faculty member with experience working on several international university partnerships noted, "I don't want to be in the role of monitoring…in budgeting terms it becomes very tricky. When we're the holders of the money, you feel like you're in the role of dispensing the money based on accomplishment of goals." Both U.S. and Colombian faculty members felt that the highly bureaucratic and vertical partnership design hindered their ability to work together as equal partners.

Summary. The design of the HRP was informed by USAID and HED's more than two decades of experience implementing hundreds of similar university

development partnerships in various parts of the world. HED has refined its partnership model and process over the years to the point that there is a fair amount of standardization across these partnerships even as they bring together different partners to address specific development issues. The experience of the HRP suggests that HED may be a victim of its own success—having learned so much in the process that it relies on a standard cookie-cutter approach at the risk of not giving enough attention to the individuals who are ultimately responsible for the partnership's success—the faculty members themselves. The partnership design phase was well executed and managed, except for the fact that it only involved faculty stakeholders in a few key steps and for narrowly defined purposes. By not including ample opportunities for Colombian faculty members to provide input, the partnership design reinforced Global North assumptions about the Colombian context and created an unequal partnership dynamic in which the U.S. partners were the experts and the Colombian partners were the beneficiaries. Furthermore, project decisions were often made without careful consideration of the context or full transparency among university partners. Although faculty participants played a limited role in this early stage, geopolitical factors and early project decisions influenced initial faculty perceptions and affected faculty engagement for the duration of the project.

Partnership Initiation

Initial faculty member impressions influence early project decisions and set the general tone of the relationship. Even as faculty motivations and agency may change over the course of the partnership, it is important to understand faculty motivations and agency

at the partnership initiation stage. Acceptance, accommodation, and resistance are useful concepts for understanding initial faculty engagement in the HRP.

Faculty motivations: Individual initiative vs. institutional imperative. In terms of what initially motivated faculty to join the HRP, U.S. and Colombian participants reported very different experiences. U.S. faculty mostly described individual and professional reasons for joining the HRP, whereas many Colombian participants explained that their participation was an institutional decision. In other words, they did not make the decision on their own nor was it based on personal interests alone. The different ways in which U.S. and Colombian institutions became members of the HRP and varying levels of faculty autonomy are largely responsible for this disjuncture.

State University's involvement in the partnership was the result of the interests and initiatives of a handful of faculty with an interest in human rights education. Two faculty members—who went on to become leading faculty members on the project—gathered interested faculty from across the university and sought official support from the law school before submitting a proposal. Most U.S. faculty participants learned about the partnership through word-of-mouth and many joined because of their collegial relationships with the faculty organizers. At least four U.S. faculty members recalled being approached personally by one of the faculty organizers. One participant stated that his primary motivation for joining was simply to help his colleague. In general, U.S. faculty members expressed a great deal of autonomy in deciding whether and in which ways they would participate, provided the project aligned with their academic work and they could find time in their schedules. As a result, U.S. faculty participants generally reported strong intrinsic motivations for joining.

Colombian faculty members became involved in the partnership through a very different process. Colombian university partners were identified through a needs assessment and the project worked through the law school deans to formally invite the Colombian university partners. Most faculty participants at all four Colombian universities joined the partnership after their deans nominated them to be the key faculty point persons for the school. In response to the question of what motivated them to join the partnership, many Colombian faculty members clarified that their involvement was the decision of a dean or supervisor. As the below exchanges make clear, initial faculty engagement in the HRP was not necessarily a decision that faculty made on their own.

AP: What motivated you to join this partnership?

It is not an individual decision but rather an institutional decision…So there is no motivation. It's not like I said, "yes, let's participate." This depends on the Dean and the Senior Rector.

AP: And how did this responsibility fall on you?

Because [of my position at the university].

AP: What motivated you to join this partnership?

The truth is that I was appointed…Before that, I was voluntarily participating in the clinic, because I think it's a wonderful way for students to learn law and human rights...In a meeting I learned that I was going to be in charge. That's how it happened. So, in addition to my workload, I had to assume the responsibilities of [the previous coordinator] and the clinic and the partnership.

According to a senior educational development specialist, the way Colombian faculty members were assigned to the HRP is relatively common for these types of

university partnership projects. He explains, "they get brought in because they're the faculty member in charge of a specific thematic area, but the program may have originally been developed by somebody else." Colombian participants' limited influence over this process explains why they expressed fewer intrinsic motivations for joining the HRP compared with their U.S. counterparts.

Colombian skepticism toward working on a U.S. government project. Resistance is an equally powerful concept for understanding faculty engagement in international university partnerships. In the absence of strong intrinsic motivations, many Colombian faculty members heavily criticized or actively resisted many early partnership decisions. Several Colombian participants acknowledged being highly critical of U.S. government intervention of any kind and initially very skeptical about USAID's involvement in the HRP. Much of this stems from Colombia's complicated history with U.S. government involvement in domestic affairs, especially those concerning human rights.

Skepticism was particularly strong among Colombian faculty from the large public university, which, like many large public universities in Latin America, is very political and critical. Several members of this university emphasized their university's strong political bent and general skepticism toward U.S. government influence:

> This is a public university…and this university has traditionally, for a very long time, had a leftist tendency. And for a long time, there has also been resistance to working with funding from USAID. It does not look good from some spaces that they (people from USAID) come and say, "we'll give money, but you must do this, this, and this." But these are resistances that have lessened over time. Those were

very hard times. If you came with USAID, no, no, no. That was before. If it had the stamp of USAID, they (people from our university) would not look at it, they refused.

I would not say that the faculty as a whole values this [partnership], because it is a public university, and traditionally, public universities in Latin America are very critical spaces and spaces of critical political reflection. They always saw the relationship with the United States as a kind of imperialist interference. So traditionally there were not many relations (with the U.S.).

Some Colombian participants had a hard time distancing U.S. faculty participants from the U.S. government, which was frustrating for faculty on both sides. A Colombian participant explained how difficult it was to get his colleagues to initially accept the partnership. "The administration and the other professors had their suspicions, but somehow I tried to say, look, we are not working with the U.S. government; it is not the Bush administration," he recalled. A few U.S. faculty participants who were involved in the early stages of the HRP recounted instances in which they felt personally criticized or implicated in the actions of their government. One faculty member reported initially feeling unwelcomed and personally attacked by Colombian counterparts who saw her as a representative of the U.S. government and imperialism.

At the beginning, they definitely didn't want me there…I remember once in a meeting one faculty member was really upset, but I didn't take it personally because I knew she was having a hard time accepting some conditions imposed by USAID. So, I knew her fight was more with the idea of the empire that she had in her mind… I was the face of the empire for her so she preferred to attack me. But as I told you,

> I never got really angry because I understood all her anger was not with me. I was not the problem, but it was what I represented for her.

Another U.S. faculty member described a similar early encounter with highly critical Colombian partners:

> I went in feeling attacked for the whole thing…And at that point there was not trust that we were any different from USAID. To them, we were the U.S. government. There was all that underlying stuff. I couldn't even tell you the substance of what all their criticisms were at that point, but we weren't living up to whatever their expectations were so it was just unacceptably brutal.

However harsh the criticisms, these individuals were fully aware that they were being criticized for something that was beyond their control. For U.S. faculty members knowledgeable about Latin American history and politics, this was somewhat expected. One participant explained the rocky start as a perception problem with historical roots:

> I think the major challenge, from what I've heard, was the USAID label. And this I understand well because I know Latin America well…and I know the perceptions of the U.S. in those countries. Moreover, when you talk about human rights, it's contested; many people think that it's an imperialistic approach, and it can be…So even before starting, you had that challenge that you had to deal with or un-build.

Even as U.S. partners understood the reasons for Colombian skepticism and criticism, they had a difficult time distancing themselves from the U.S. government label. After all, they were responsible for fulfilling the requirements of the USAID project. One faculty member explained it as a threat to U.S. university credibility.

> If you had interviewed me [at the beginning of the partnership], I would just have been incredibly cynical about the way that USAID was using our credibility to go in and do their work and their policy priorities. I was very angry at being used in a way hurt my own credibility, because I knew that I was being perceived as just a USAID person. Nothing you could say to them could persuade them any differently because I was demanding the same things of them.

Overcoming resistance. Though doubts lingered, Colombian participants pointed out that resistance to U.S. government involvement was not as strong as it once was. "There were traditional suspicions," admitted a Colombian faculty member. "Those suspicions were not as strong as they were in past generations, but it is still something that persists," she disclosed. Colombians attribute this shift to a changing political environment and a younger generation of faculty members and human rights lawyers who are more open and accepting of other cultures. Memories of the Cold War and resistance to neoliberalism and capitalism have softened over time, and Colombia is now a more peaceful and stable country. Even Colombia's public university member, a bastion of leftist and critical thinking, has gradually softened its resistance to the U.S. over the past decade According to one of its faculty members:

> Things have changed. The university has become more open to other things. It has understood that, especially in issues of human rights, one cannot build alone and be closed-minded. Rather, one needs other ways of looking at things.

U.S. faculty partners also played a critical role in breaking down this resistance. Several Colombian faculty members said they felt that faculty members at State University were different than typical development partners. Their conversations and prior academic

work gave many Colombian participants the impression that these professors had a critical perspective and collaborative approach. A Colombian faculty member who served as an initial contact for interested U.S. university applicants said that the professors gave him a very good initial impression. He was familiar with some of the professors and their work and believed that they were genuinely interested in a reciprocal partnership. Another Colombian faculty member admitted that the professors and programs at State University were a key consideration when deciding whether to join the HRP. "If it had been another university, perhaps we would not have accepted," she said emphatically.

But some Colombian faculty members remained skeptical of the partnership even after State University was selected. Most of this initial resistance stemmed from a sense of protectionism and the desire to be treated as equal partners. Colombians did not want outsiders coming to their country and telling them how to do things without listening and learning from their experiences. This was especially important given Colombia's delicate and deeply complex human rights situation. A Colombian faculty member explained:

> For us as a law faculty, for this university, it was a challenge to open ourselves up a little…This university is very skeptical about others coming to teach us. We do not easily believe that they should come and say, "this is how you do things; you are doing this wrong."

A handful of Colombian faculty members said they had advocated on behalf of the project and their U.S. partner to help their colleagues warm up to the idea of collaborating. One faculty member recalled assuring colleagues that "it is not a partnership where they are going to come and teach us as if we were ignorant. It is going to be an exchange of knowledge. It is a program of reciprocal cooperation."

Ultimately, it was the project director, a faculty member at the U.S. university, who helped many Colombian participants overcome their initial resistance. Her collegial approach and repeated emphasis on mutual learning resonated with them. A Colombian faculty member observed:

> It can be a challenge to break this old resistance, but with Dana[6], it has been very easy to break it. Because the first thing Dana always says is, "We are also here to learn. We did not come to teach. We came to share these things with you."

The director's visit to Colombia, in which she told Colombian partners that her team was there to learn from and with them, marked a turning point in the relationship. Several Colombians pointed to this as the moment that their perspective of the partnership began to shift. When I raised this with the director and asked if she recalled saying this, her response was, "I don't know when I said it, but that's something I would have said because it is what I believe."

In the months and years that followed, the director repeatedly assured Colombian partners that she was on their side through her words and actions. "Dana was always very open and she listened a lot, which is what the professors here wanted," noted a Colombian participant. "State University never made us feel like they were on a higher level or that we were on a lower level. We always spoke as equals," he explained. Another faculty member emphasized the importance of having such a charismatic and collaborative leader:

> Having a person like Dana has made the difference. I have never felt like I was working with a partner from the Global North that pushes me around and demands

[6] Pseudonyms are used instead of participants' names to protect confidentiality.

things of me. I feel I am working with a colleague in a horizontal manner, one who respects our differences and is inclusive, flexible, creative, and good.

It was very important to Colombian faculty members that they were heard, respected, and treated as equals by their U.S. partners. As Colombian faculty members began to sense that their U.S. partners truly listened to and respected their opinions, resistance softened and intrinsic motivations for participation grew. The experience of the HRP demonstrates how thoughtful and committed faculty champions can help bring partners closer together despite initial misgivings.

Personal and professional benefits. Although many Colombian faculty members did not join the HRP on their own volition and many were initially very skeptical, both U.S. and Colombian faculty members indicated that the opportunity to fulfil personal and professional development goals sustained their engagement. Professional development opportunities for themselves as well as benefits to their students and universities were popular faculty motivations that kept faculty members engaged in the HRP regardless of their initial reasons for joining.

For many Colombian faculty members—especially those who had not yet obtained graduate degrees and were employed as adjunct or contract-based professors—the opportunity to further their education through the HRP was an important benefit to participation. Many Colombian participants took advantage of continuing education opportunities such as HRP-supported seminars, faculty exchanges, or scholarship programs when their schedules permitted it. One of the law school deans even managed to earn a master's degree in human rights law through the HRP's scholarship program. Professional development was therefore an important motivation for Colombian faculty.

Colombian participants frequently mentioned the international and intercultural benefits of participation in the HRP. The few Colombian faculty members who had prior international experience were more likely to point out the social, intellectual, and economic benefits of international and intercultural exchange. “The HRP is very interesting to me, especially regarding the cultural and knowledge exchanges,” said one faculty member who had earned a doctorate abroad. Another faculty member remarked:

> It is very important, especially for globalization and all that, to know other realities and other contexts and to know how other countries see us. It is important to be able to transform our ideas, to make changes, and to learn about positive experiences that we might be able to implement ourselves. Obviously, the reality in the United States is very different from the Colombian reality, but they also have a lot of human resources, a lot of knowledge, and a lot of research that could help here.

Colombian faculty members—especially those without prior international experience—did not always anticipate intercultural benefits at the outset of the partnership, but most found such experiences motivating and sometimes even transformative. In the words of one participant:

> The partnership has allowed me to see many things…It has transformed me a lot as a person. The HRP has helped me to understand other points of view, to respect them, to network, and to understand that this work that we are designing with many people is not my own. Professionally, it has allowed me to see the richness of exchanges with people from other countries.

A handful of U.S. faculty members similarly noted the benefits of cultural exchange, but, in general, Colombian participants were more likely than their U.S. partners to identify international and intercultural motivations for participating. This is perhaps because Colombian faculty members had less international experience than their U.S. counterparts and more to gain from the international opportunities this partnership offered.

In addition to general professional and intercultural development opportunities, faculty participants identified academic goals they hoped to achieve through the partnership. Faculty academic interests in the project typically reflected the different positions that participants held within their university. For example, U.S. research professors often cited their research interests in topics such as human rights, Latin America, or transitional justice as motivations for participating. Clinical professors in the U.S. and Colombia often cited the opportunity to exchange ideas about clinical education and improve their human rights clinics as a benefit to participating in the HRP.

Creating learning opportunities for students was another important motivation for U.S. and Colombian faculty members. This was an especially strong motivation for some Colombian professors whose students had never left the country and had limited opportunities to gain practical experience in human rights law due to the sensitivity and risk associated with human rights work in Colombia. The following statements from Colombian faculty members reflect this sentiment:

> The most interesting and perhaps the most beautiful thing [about the HRP] has been the work…with the students, that they've had the opportunity to do practical internships. They come back with another face, another view of things. The experience of having to go to another country and learn another way of seeing the

> world, another context, and working on real human rights issues with an NGO or going to a United Nations Committee...I hear them speak of their experience and it's obvious that they've really enjoyed and learned from it.
>
> We want to continue this partnership and…find ways for our students to travel...When students come here to Colombia they bring different ways of seeing life and when students go there (to the United States) they show the good things that are here and that's the way societies grow.

Faculty goals for students had a strong intercultural component, and in some cases paralleled faculty goals for themselves. Colombian faculty members hoped their students would exchange ideas with other students and bring a fresh perspective back with them to apply to their own human rights challenges.

For many Colombian faculty members, the institutional benefits of international exchanges such as the HRP were just as important as the individual benefits. Faculty commonly used the adjectives "closed off," "inbred," "isolated," and "non-collaborative" to describe their universities and the need for partnerships. "It is important and interesting to open the doors of these universities a little bit; we are confined in these small mountains and the world is very wide," said a faculty member from Las Montañas." Another faculty member spoke of the desire to see her university open itself up to new opportunities and processes.

> Our university has a lot of tradition. It is well recognized and has always been known for its high quality. But we're also becoming very inbred. Our processes are becoming very closed and sometimes we are not open. We don't have that

aperture or disposition to look at how other universities are working. And I believe that is necessary in order to build an academic community.

Recognizing the importance of international cooperation in higher education, many Colombian faculty members were personally motivated to help their university open itself up to the world and grow stronger through their participation in the HRP. In this sense, there seemed to be an alignment between faculty motivations and the HRP's institutional capacity-building goals.

Regardless of their initial reasons for joining the partnership, U.S. and Colombian faculty participants identified many personal and professional development goals that sustained their interest in the partnership. These mostly included developing skills or opportunities for academic research, clinical education, and human rights advocacy. In addition, Colombian participants strongly emphasized the value of international collaborations and exchanges for themselves, their students, and their universities. The fact that Colombian participants had fewer international opportunities than their U.S. partners helps explain why it was a more frequently mentioned motivation for Colombian participants. Many of these benefits to participation were not anticipated by Colombian faculty members at the beginning of the partnership, but they developed over time as the product of positive partnership experiences. This reflects a shift in Colombian faculty motivations over the course of the project. Whereas most Colombian faculty were assigned to work on the partnership and were initially unsure what to expect, many came to appreciate the relationships and benefits they accrued from participation.

Summary. Although many Colombian faculty members did not join on their own volition and some were initially skeptical—if not outright critical—of the partnership,

resistance softened as faculty members developed trusting relationships and realized personal and professional benefits to participation. Although all faculty members understood that an overarching goal of the HRP was to strengthen Colombian law schools and human rights clinics, what motivated or sustained their engagement in the HRP was often more personal. This demonstrates that not all faculty members participate for the same reason or have similar expectations of what the partnership can and should achieve. The initial doubts that many faculty members had about the partnership speaks to the importance of transparency and dialogue early in the partnership. Fortunately, as this case demonstrates, faculty engagement can improve if partners develop trusting relationships and begin to see tangible benefits to their participation.

Partnership Negotiation

Faculty participants entered the HRP with very different expectations about the project and their role within it. This was largely a result of limited faculty engagement in the partnership design phase and different reasons for getting involved. Regardless of where they started, faculty participants needed to work quickly to negotiate the details of the partnership and implement project activities. Once the U.S. university was identified and awarded the grant, partners had ninety days to meet and finalize their partnership structure, management process, and financial agreements. This proved very difficult for everyone involved because the universities did not have a history of working together, faculty members had little familiarity and many uncertainties about working with USAID, and compatibility issues raised concerns about whether the right partners had been selected.

Managing and negotiating the relationship. One of the first challenges to setting up the partnership was managing very different expectations about the partnership and everyone's role within it. Most of these challenges stem from project management and communication failures. Although the role of the U.S. university was clearly stated in its contract with HED, Colombian universities were less clear about their own role. Many still did not understand how they were selected to participate or what was required of them. This presented a challenge to getting Colombian university and faculty buy-in for the project, something U.S. faculty members had not expected. As one participant explained:

> I think they were kind of confused about what the partnership was for. [Some] thought they would be just receiving money and support to keep doing the things they were already doing in the way they were already doing them without changing. And that was not totally right, because the partnership needed to impact and change the work they were doing.

Another challenge that arose during this stage was faculty members' lack of familiarity with USAID projects and systems of accountability such as monitoring and evaluation and financial reporting. This was more difficult than many anticipated, because faculty members had to work across language barriers with partners whom they did not know to discuss unfamiliar concepts (e.g. evaluation indicators) about a project that they knew very little about. A U.S. faculty member explained the difficulties of setting up management and monitoring and evaluation plans with Colombian partners whom she did not know for a project that had yet to begin:

> Coming in, we didn't understand just how low their level of English was. We had to translate the entire baseline, all the indicators, everything to Spanish. And not only the words, but you had to get them to understand and think systematically in a way that they never thought of before to set up all these measurements. This is before we had any kind of relationship, before we had done one thing…We were negotiating contracts, indicators and objectives. They were misinterpreting those things and giving us bad numbers, or they didn't have numbers, or they didn't want to spend the time to do that. Who does? It's boring.

"It was like talking physics to a bunch of literature scholars," she said of the start-up process, which was more cumbersome than faculty expected. Many faculty participants became frustrated with the slow pace of progress. "They wanted the programmatic stuff to start right away and all we were doing was process, process, process," the U.S. faculty member explained. Some of these start-up challenges come with the territory of setting up any new partnership. Participants' lack of familiarity with international development or USAID projects and each other made these start-up challenges even more difficult to overcome.

The partnership model itself presented an additional layer of complexity as partners had to finalize the partnership structure before they could address administrative and logistical issues. The partnership was initially proposed as a hub and spoke model where the U.S. university would work directly with the two larger Colombian universities, who would then support the two smaller Colombian universities. However, it was left up to the implementing partners to decide how best to structure the partnership. The university partners readily acknowledged that the hub and spoke model reinforced a

steep hierarchy and instead opted to treat each of the four Colombian partners as equal members of the partnership. The result was a sub-network of four Colombian universities within a larger network that include the U.S. university.

Restructuring the partnership required some modifications to the proposed project activities so that all members would receive the same partnership opportunities and benefits. There was an initial proposal to fund one scholarship recipient to earn a master's degree in human rights law from State University. This posed an early threat to the balance that partners sought to achieve by ensuring that all universities had the same opportunities to benefit from HRP participation. Instead of allowing only one scholar from one of the four schools to participate, the partners decided to fund four scholars—one from each Colombian university—to earn a master's degree from a Colombian or Latin American university for the same amount it would have cost to send one scholar to the U.S. This example was cited by U.S. and Colombian faculty participants as a positive outcome of initial negotiations. "I think that showed a level of good faith and the deans were happy," said a U.S. faculty member.

Even though the partnership structure and activities were largely determined before the partners ever gathered together to discuss the partnership, the little bit of flexibility that the U.S. partners could accommodate made a big difference in terms of building rapport and trust among the partners. Having some flexibility to renegotiate activities as a team was also important, because, as a U.S. faculty member admitted, there was "a lot of uncertainty about what we could offer and what they needed" when the proposal was first written. After all, participants had never worked together or even met in person before the project started. Faculty relationships and engagement would have

suffered if not for the flexibility and understanding that both sides exhibited during the negotiation stage and the willingness of the donors to accommodate such changes.

Two other decisions made during the negotiation stage proved consequential for promoting faculty agency and collaboration in the HRP. First, hiring a core group of project administrators who were employed by the project and based in Colombia helped smooth relations between U.S. and Colombian partners. Although these three administrators reported to the U.S. university, they worked out of Libertad University, which served as the Colombian administrative center for the Colombian sub-network. While officially project staff rather than faculty members, these individuals worked closely with Colombian faculty members and were widely viewed as part of the Colombian university sub-network. They also served as translators and interlocutors for the project, which helped U.S. and Colombian faculty participants communicate and stay informed of project decisions. This reduced some of the administrative burden that might otherwise fall on Colombian faculty participants, especially when it came to reporting or coordinating faculty and student exchanges. These administrators strengthened communication and collaboration across the project and allowed faculty participants to spend more of their time focusing on substantive partnership activities.

Another key decision that freed up faculty time for partnership activities was the requirement that each university designate at least fifty percent of one faculty member's time to working on the partnership. All four Colombian universities dedicated at least fifty percent of one faculty members' time to the partnership. One partner dedicated one hundred percent of a faculty member's time to the HRP.

This was an important decision because heavy faculty workloads can impede faculty engagement in partnership activities. It also helped the deans understand the heavy demands that partnership activities place on faculty time and gave the U.S. university some assurances that faculty participants were supported by their deans. Furthermore, this decision made it clear who was expected to do the partnership work by creating clear lines of accountability across the project and within institutions. All of these factors enhanced the prospect of faculty engagement within the HRP.

In practice, however, many faculty participants indicated that this was not sufficient. Not all clinical professors felt that their academic workloads truly decreased by fifty percent. "In theory, I have to be dedicated to the partnership half time; what that means is I have a full-time position at the university plus a half time position with the partnership," explained one faculty member. Another participant insisted that fifty percent of one faculty member's time was not enough to adequately support the partnership:

> Half time is not enough for anything, not for normal faculty duties nor for the partnership. It has been a constant battle even though we have professors who are, for the most part, very committed to this. It has been crazy, because we have professors who are tired from their classes and they do not have time to study, to prepare, or to think. Only one university has granted a full-time allocation to a professor and this shows in the work that the university does, which is very good. And it is because the professor has time to think and work.

While some felt that this agreement did not go far enough in protecting faculty time on the project, it provided symbolic and tangible support for faculty engagement in the HRP.

Although U.S. university control of project funds can create unequal power relations between U.S. and Colombian partners to the detriment of Colombian faculty engagement, this case offers an example of how the financial structure can be used to enhance Colombian faculty engagement. Because the U.S. university controlled the flow of funds to Colombian universities, the project director could make such a request of the Colombian deans and expect compliance.

The negotiation stage was fraught with challenges as the U.S. and Colombian university partners had to make important and strategic decisions about the partnership before they had a chance to develop a trusting relationship. Participants sensed a lot of confusion, criticism, and posturing in these early meetings. Faculty champions from U.S. and Colombian universities helped steer the group toward conciliation and collaboration by emphasizing their commitment to mutual learning and equality and showing good faith and flexibility throughout the negotiation stage. Some strategic decisions and project changes also helped level the playing field between U.S. and Colombian partners. These factors helped faculty participants overcome what most described as a rocky beginning. According to faculty members, the nature of their relationship truly changed once all the procedural stuff was out of the way and faculty members could move on to substantive human rights work. "Once we got that done, it's like the whole nature of the project changed and that was great," said one of the U.S. faculty members.

Compatibility concerns. Concerns about partnership compatibility arose during the negotiation stage as participants realized they had very little in common with one another. Differences resulted from a combination of geopolitical, cultural, and institutional factors. Participants' understanding of the different contexts in which they

worked and the extent to which partner compatibility was considered in the partnership design had important implications for faculty engagement during this stage. This section reviews some of the major compatibility concerns that surfaced during the negotiation stage.

A tale of two legal systems. The fact that the U.S. and Colombia followed two very distinct legal traditions caused some participants to question the appropriateness of pairing U.S. and Colombian law schools. Colombia, a former Spanish colony, inherited the civil law tradition that originated in continental Europe, while the U.S. legal system is modeled after the English common law tradition. In civil law traditions, a codified set of laws (legal codes) specify which matters can be brought to court, how investigations should proceed, and what are appropriate forms of punishment. Common law systems generally lack a comprehensive set of legal rules and statutes known as legal code. Instead, legal decisions are largely based on precedents, and judges can determine which precedents should be applied in deciding new cases.

The differences between these two legal systems is far-reaching since a country's chosen legal system permeates all aspects of daily life as schools, courthouses, and government bodies respond to and uphold national legal traditions. In the context of a law school partnership, different national legal systems are likely to produce variations in how human rights law is practiced and law students are trained. Yet this important difference was largely ignored when U.S. and Colombian law schools were paired together for the HRP. In fact, none of the initial assessments or project reports made any mention of this difference or the challenges it might present for the partnership.

The different professional paths that U.S. and Colombian law students follow raised additional compatibility issues for the partnership. In the United States, students typically complete their three-year J.D. or Juris Doctorate degree after completing a 4-year bachelor's degree in any major/field of study. In Colombia, students earn a professional law degree after successful completion of five years of undergraduate study in law (this degree is similar to an L.L.B. or Bachelors of Law). Those who are interested in pursuing an academic career in law typically continue on to earn a master's or doctorate degree in a specialized area of law (e.g. human rights). As a result of these different paths, a Colombian student can become eligible to practice law after completion of a professional Bachelor's degree in law while a U.S. student becomes eligible after completing a doctorate degree. The institutional assessment made a brief mention of this distinction. "Law is an undergraduate study (pregrado) option in comparison with a Juris doctorate degree from a U.S. law school, which is a post graduate program of study," the authors explained. However, they offered no commentary on how this difference might affect collaboration between U.S. and Colombian universities.

For faculty participants, working across different legal cultures presented a mix of challenges and benefits. A faculty member described a situation in which she felt her legal knowledge and experiences were of limited value to her partners who worked within a different legal system. "I really couldn't help. Their system is so different. I couldn't really advise them, because I don't know their laws and their civil law system," she lamented. At the same time, working across two different legal cultures gave interested faculty members an opportunity to compare clinical teaching across the two

systems. One U.S. faculty member explained that the opportunity to study this difference is partially what drew her to the HRP in the first place:

> I have an interest in clinical teaching in general, and different forms of it. An interesting thing about the Colombian model is that it's in a civil law tradition. It's a different way of looking at the law and the possibilities of using the law for social change purposes. They don't have as much legal precedent so, at least traditionally speaking, civil lawyers don't engage in as much impact litigation as lawyers from common law countries.

Some faculty participants pointed out that working across different legal systems created an opportunity for faculty members to learn from one another, which perhaps put them on equal terrain as both sides depended on one another for knowledge. The takeaway is that working across different legal systems is not necessarily bad, but it is important that participants understand and appreciate their differences. It may take time for participants to develop an understanding and appreciation of these differences, which is something short-term partnerships do not have in abundance.

Different models of clinical education. U.S. and Colombian law schools further differed in their approach to clinical education. This created some initial confusion and frustration during the negotiation stage as partners were all using the language of legal clinics but had different interpretations of what they looked like in practice and what model of legal education should be supported through the partnership.

The existence of or desire to create a human rights clinic was an important criterion for Colombian universities to be selected as part of the HRP. While all HRP members had some form of a law clinic prior to joining the HRP, they varied in structure.

Two distinct models of clinical education are popular in Colombia: legal aid clinics or legal consultancies (*consultorios jurídicos*) and public interest law clinics (*clínicas jurídicas*). Consultorios jurídico*s* are a legally required part of Colombian law school programs. Under the supervision of law professors, students work in these clinics in their final years of law school in service to low-income clients. Like most legal clinics in the U.S., these consultorios provide an important social service while giving law students practical law and advocacy experience (Carrillo and Yaksic, 2011).

Clínicas jurídicas, on the other hand, have a strong critical and social justice component and emerged in largely as a response and supplement to the consultorios. Whereas consultorios choose cases based on client needs, public interest law clinics tend to choose high impact cases that serve the broader population (Londoño Toro, 2015; Bonilla, 2013; Hoyos, 2017). As part of these clinics, students may provide consultative services, conduct research, and engage in high impact litigation, lobbying, and advocacy (Hoyos, 2017). Unlike the consultorios, clínicas are not mandatory in Colombia. Law students participate on a voluntary basis, often in the form of an elective course or independent research project. Clínicas sometimes fall under the umbrella of the Practice Law Centers that exist at all Colombian law schools.

Even within the United States, law schools have different forms of legal clinics. What most legal clinics have in common is that they provide an educational experience through which students practice law and gain valuable legal skills while contributing to society (Angel-Cabo, 2015). Students typically provide legal services or advice to (oftentimes poor or disadvantaged) clients under the supervision of law professors or practitioners (Wilson, 2003). The dual education and service function is what

characterizes many legal clinics in the U.S. This general U.S. legal clinic model has spread throughout many parts of the world with funding from donors such as USAID, the Soros Foundations, and the Ford Foundation. Colombia's legal clinics appear to be both indigenous to Colombia and yet also influenced by U.S. legal clinics. Although Colombian clínicas jurídicas are sometimes considered a U.S. import, Carrillo and Yaksic note that they have a "distinctly local flavor and focus" (2011, p. 85). Table 5 provides an overview of the different types of law clinics in existence at each partner university when the HRP started.

Table 5: Types of Human Rights Clinics in Existence at Member Universities

University	**Type of Clinic**
State University	Immigration and Human Rights Law Clinic Human Rights Litigation & International Legal Advocacy
Libertad University	Consultorio jurídico Clínica jurídica
University of Las Montañas	Consultorio jurídico
Trinidad University	Consultorio jurídico Clínica jurídica pilot
Santa Cecilia University	Consultorio jurídico

At the start of the HRP, faculty participants did not have a clear understanding of the types of clinics in existence at each university or how their law clinics differed. Even among the four Colombian universities there was considerable variation in the types of legal clinics in existence. Prior to the HRP, only two of the four Colombian partners had established a clínica jurídica, while another university was piloting their own version of a clínica jurídica. Each of these clinics was unique, the result of varying processes and levels of institutional support. The following quote illustrates the distinctive and

haphazard evolution of a clinic at one of the partner universities and explains the lack of uniformity among Colombian clinics:

> We had several attempts at creating or inventing clinics, but they were not like what we have now…We took the old thing that was not a clinic—even though we called it a clinic—and we applied the methodology that we have learned through this agreement and something really interesting is coming out of it.

Differences were most prominent between U.S. and Colombian legal clinics. Upon discovering these differences, some Colombian faculty members doubted that U.S. partners could provide much benefit to Colombian legal clinics and resented the project's implicit assumption that the U.S. clinical model was somehow better than the Colombian clinics. One Colombian faculty member made it very clear that a different U.S. clinic model could not simply be imposed upon Colombian universities:

> We realized that the U.S. has a different conception of clinical teaching; it is different from the clinical teachings at the Antioquian universities. They are two very different models. So, these two different models had to be reconciled during the partnership. Because it was not understood. The U.S. [clinic] model is more like the Colombian consultorio jurídico. It will not be a model for Colombian legal clinics.

In this faculty member's opinion, the incompatibility between U.S. and Colombian clinics reflects two broader concerns about the HRP: 1) It was designed with limited understanding of Colombian law schools and clinics, and 2) it privileged U.S. models of clinical education without full consideration of what was already in place at Colombian law schools.

The different models of clinical education represented across the partnership and participant's limited understanding of how they differed generated confusion and compatibility concerns during the negotiation stage. This hindered faculty engagement on a project in which clinical collaborations were of central importance. Some of this initial confusion and concern could have been reduced during the project design phase had these differences been given more attention. Even as clinical education featured prominently in the list of partnership goals and strategies, project documents did not adequately describe the different forms of clinical education across the HRP. Early project documents briefly referenced two different models of clinical education, but they did not provide clear comparisons between U.S. and Colombian clinic models or clarify what form of clinical education the HRP was intended to support. Had the project paid more attention to these differences at the design phase, they might have been more discriminating in selecting partner universities. At the very least, a clear explanation of these differences would have helped partners come to an understanding about how their clinics differed and how they could benefit from partnership before they joined.

Different human rights experiences and expertise. Another compatibility concern raised by faculty participants was the fact that U.S. and Colombian partners had strikingly different human rights experiences and areas of expertise. This made it difficult for faculty participants to identify collaborative projects during the negotiation stage.

Lived experiences. It would be difficult for anyone living outside of Colombia to fully comprehend the unique and intractable human rights conflict it has endured for more than half a century. This presents a challenge for any international partnership focused on human rights in Colombia. Even within Colombia, law schools vary in their

attention to and ability to deal with the many different human rights issues facing Colombia. This section highlights key differences that set HRP members apart in terms of their exposure to Colombia's armed conflict.

Santa Cecilia's campus is located in a small city in Eastern Antioquia that represents a microcosm of Colombia's armed conflict. It is the birthplace of Pablo Escobar and the site of many ambitious modernization projects that resulted in land expropriations and forced displacement of longtime residents during the second half of the twentieth century. This sparked a broad civic movement in the late 1970s and 1980s that advocated for the rights of locals adversely affected by the new developments. According to Civico (2015), this movement created a political space for the guerrillas to exploit. By the 1980s, the ELN and FARC guerrilla groups adopted the civic movement's discourse and cause as they fought for dominance over this area of strategic economic importance. Soon, a wave of terror descended on the region as guerrilla, paramilitary, and state actors all fought each other. "For three decades, [Eastern Antioquia's] residents were the target of forced and massive displacement, disappearances, massacres, selective killings, sexual abuse, kidnapping, and [extortion] perpetrated by a variety of armed groups" (Civico, 2015, p. 96). Santa Cecilia is the only institution of higher education with a primary campus in Eastern Antioquia and one of the few institutions easily accessible to the area's predominantly rural population.

The University of Las Montañas was near the epicenter of Colombia's political violence at its height in the 1990s. Its campus had been infiltrated by guerrillas, paramilitaries, and criminal gangs despite efforts by the government and university to control them and keep the conflict outside campus (Pacheco, 2013). As a major public

university in the region, Las Montañas has played an important role in the defense of human rights and continues to support victims of the armed conflict through its legal clinics.

Colombia's armed conflict has most adversely affected Colombia's rural poor. Santa Cecilia and Las Montañas are the two HRP partners that best serve this population and work most extensively on human rights issues related to the armed conflict. The other two Colombian university partners, Libertad and Trinidad, have been less directly affected by the armed conflict and their human rights work is less directly aligned with the Colombian government's post-conflict agenda. Faculty members explained that their clinics focus more on everyday human rights issues affecting their communities such as environmental or housing rights.

Although the funders had anticipated that all partners would want to work on human rights cases related to Colombia's armed conflict, faculty participants differed greatly in their understanding of and interest in working on such cases. This says nothing of the hostile climate and serious risks for lawyers working on sensitive human rights issues such as the armed conflict—certainly a deterrent for many. Colombian faculty interest in working on armed conflict cases was assumed but not explicitly asked during the project design phase. This presented a challenge during the negotiation stage when partners realized they did not all share the same commitment to working on cases related to the armed conflict.

Different areas of faculty expertise also made it difficult for HRP partners to agree on which clinical activities should be supported by the project as the basis for collaboration. Table 6 highlights some of the areas of expertise that participants attributed

to faculty at each of the five university partners. This chart is intended to illustrate the diversity of human rights activities and expertise across the HRP and is not a definitive list of each school's expertise.

Table 6: Human Rights Expertise Across the Human Rights Partnership

University Member	Human Rights Expertise & Clients Served
University of Las Montañas	Expertise in public law, armed conflict, displacement. Special attention to internally displaced persons.
Santa Cecilia University	Expertise in criminal law, pastoral law, social work, homelessness, mining legislation, prison reform. Special attention to victims of armed conflict.
Trinidad University	Expertise in commercial law, civil law, private law, international law, public interest law. Special attention to displaced persons and victims of sexual violence.
Libertad University	Expertise in criminal law, environmental law. Special attention to displaced, indigenous, and Afro-Colombian populations.
State University	Expertise in international law, advocacy, and litigation. Special attention to immigration and asylum cases.

As indicated in the table, only one of the HRP members had a strong background and interest in environmental rights when the project started. Nonetheless, an environmental rights case was ultimately selected as the first case on which all HRP members collaborated. According to faculty participants, two conditions made this possible. First, the HRP partners could not find any common ground on which to build a collaborative human rights case. Second, Libertad University had a highly experienced and engaged clinical coordinator who had already identified an environmental rights case to which all HRP members could contribute.

Varying human rights experiences and expertise made it difficult for the various law schools and clinics to find common ground during the negotiation stage. Participants spent much of the first year of this three-and-a-half-year project learning how each

university clinic differed and trying to find a way to work collaboratively despite their different human rights interests and expertise. Given these challenges, many faculty members expressed frustration that each school's areas of expertise were not given more attention when law schools were selected to take part in the HRP.

They can't teach us if they don't understand us. The geopolitical context that enveloped the HRP influenced faculty perceptions of one another and willingness to collaborate in this early stage of the partnership. The uniqueness of Colombia's human rights situation and the limited knowledge U.S. partners had of the Colombian context called into question the appropriateness of a partnership between U.S. and Colombian universities. Some Colombian faculty questioned whether it was appropriate for any foreign university to be involved in a highly complex and uniquely Colombian issue. Most felt that a deeper understanding of the Colombian context was an important condition for partnership, and some resented the thought of being told what to do by partners who did not fully understand the Colombian context.

Perhaps the deepest wound for many Colombian faculty members was the feeling that they had worked so hard and so long—and in the face of serious risks—to fight for justice and human rights in Colombia, only to have outsiders with limited understanding of the situation come and tell them how they should do things. The below quotes reflect the initial resistance of many Colombian faculty members to outside interference in Colombia's human rights issues:

> It does not seem sensible, in my view, that a university expects to teach a Colombian university to work in human rights when we live in a context of more than half a century of conflict. We have lived the harshness of violence and the

> violation of human rights. This has made us advance in these issues. And it's an experience in context. So, a university is going to come and teach us what are human rights…as if human rights are a thing that we do not have here?
>
> Perhaps we believe that because we have a conflict that is so different, problems that are very different than what you may find in other parts of the world, and because we have confronted very tough and very particular human rights issues that are unique to this place, we can say no. Some professors would say that they cannot come and teach here if they do not know what is happening here.

Another Colombian faculty member was more direct, saying "if U.S. universities want to work with Colombia, they need to know Colombia."

Some participants acknowledged that it was not realistic to expect their U.S. partners to have a deep understanding of Colombia's unique and complicated human rights history upon entering the partnership. One Colombian participant reflected on the scale of such a task, saying:

> The lack of knowledge they have of the Colombian context—the situation in Colombia, the Colombian legal culture, and the institutional dynamics of Colombian universities—I think that is a limitation that is difficult to overcome. Because before a project starts, how can you know all of this?

Nonetheless, to ensure that future partnerships get off to a smoother start, some faculty members suggested that projects allow more time for potential partners to learn about the context in which they will be working. One Colombian faculty member made the following recommendation:

> What I would recommend for the large donors is that when they issue a call for proposals to intervene in country X, they do it with enough time for those applying to acquire this knowledge, so that they have enough knowledge of the country. If a call were issued today, you would have one month to prepare a proposal for the Colombian universities. In what moment have you studied the context and the laws? There may exist international experts on Colombia but you are not going to have that in all cases. So, a recommendation would be for these international agencies to give the necessary time for these institutions to get to know the contexts of the countries in which they are thinking of intervening before applying.

"If there were an ideal way for me to do it, I'd start with a minimum knowledge of the context," said another Colombian faculty member. Unfortunately, the accelerated nature of the project did not provide ample time for partners to get to know one other before the project started. "We never had a space in the [HRP] to better explain the Colombian context, which is quite complex," lamented one faculty member. "This exchange is still very abstract and very technical…Up until now we still have not done a mapping of the Colombian situation," observed another.

The initial lack of mutual understanding and trust as a result of geopolitical differences strained U.S.-Colombian relations and faculty engagement during the early partnership stages. Many agreed that the project could have improved relations by creating more opportunities for partners to learn about and from one another early in the project. Instead, partners had to jump right into negotiating contracts and agreeing upon

evaluation criteria before getting to know one another or learn much about Colombia's human rights situation.

Summary. U.S. and Colombian partners felt that their ability to negotiate the terms of the partnership was severely limited by their lack of familiarity with USAID and their partners. Some partners were surprised and frustrated to find themselves negotiating the terms of a human rights and law clinic partnership across fundamentally different human rights contexts, clinical approaches, and legal systems. Furthermore, the short project timeline meant that partners had to negotiate the details or their partnership before establishing a rapport and finding common ground with their partners. Consequently, faculty members described negotiations during the first few months of the partnership as "difficult," "brutal," or "challenging." Nonetheless, committed faculty members and key partnership decisions made during the negotiation stage helped pave the way toward a more collaborative and collegial relationship.

Attention to attitudes, decisions, and events during the design, initiation, and negotiation stages can produce valuable insights about faculty engagement in university development partnerships. How faculty experience these early partnership stages influences faculty perspectives and actions for the remainder of the partnership. The next chapter examines faculty engagement influences and patterns during the collaboration and conclusion stages.

Chapter Six: Continued Faculty Engagement

This chapter examines faculty engagement after the design, initiation, and negotiation stages. With those initial stages behind them, faculty members had a better sense of the project, their partners, and their own interests and abilities to remain engaged. Faculty members were interviewed for this study in between the collaboration and conclusion stages of the HRP. At this point, faculty members were still attending regular meetings and implementing project activities, but they were also preparing for the project's end and contemplating what it would mean for the future of the partnership they created.

Faculty Collaboration

Faculty capability beliefs are an important influence on faculty engagement as faculty members attempt to collaborate across differences in skills, experiences, institutional environments, and cultural practices. This section examines faculty beliefs about their own capabilities and broader environments as they affect their engagement in the human rights partnership.

Professional capital. Faculty member assessments of their current work situation and professional capital were strong influences on faculty engagement in the HRP. Position and rank (e.g. adjunct, junior, or senior professor), tenure status, and academic accomplishments (e.g. publications or grants) are important forms of professional capital for faculty members. On average, U.S. faculty participants had accumulated more professional capital than their Colombian partners. This was somewhat expected since the HRP was designed as an expert-beneficiary relationship in which U.S. faculty members were the designated experts and Colombian participants were the designated

beneficiaries. Social and institutional factors also contributed to this gap whereby U.S. faculty participants generally reported higher levels of education, ranking, and seniority than Colombian faculty participants.

U.S. and Colombian faculty participants differed greatly in terms of their levels of education, an important marker of professional status in academia. 100 percent of U.S. faculty interviewees (8/8) had obtained a doctorate degree, whereas only 27 percent of Colombian interviewees (4/15) possessed a doctorate degree. Several factors help explain the degree gap between U.S. and Colombian faculty participants. First, there are inadequate opportunities for Colombian faculty members to advance their careers within their home country. This is supported by de Wit et al. (2005), who found that less than four percent of professors in Colombia held doctorate degrees. The fact that few law faculty members outside of Bogotá have advanced degrees was a key justification for creating the HRP. Second, faculty at research universities are more likely to have a doctorate degree than their peers at non-research universities (Altbach and Salmi, 2011). The U.S. partner was a research university while three out of the four Colombian HRP member universities were non-research universities. Participant demographics reflected this trend as most participants with doctorate degrees worked at one of the two research universities represented in the HRP.

In addition to possessing higher levels of legal education and training, U.S. faculty participants were, on average, more senior to their Colombian counterparts in terms of their age and ranking within their institutions. Most U.S. HRP participants were full-time, senior-level faculty with many years of experience in law and academia, often with tenured status. Almost all Colombian HRP participants, on the other hand, were

junior or mid-career faculty, many of whom were non-tenure track adjunct or contract faculty.

The seniority gap between U.S. and Colombian HRP participants was further widened due to the disparate ways in which faculty members joined the project. In Colombia, deans of the selected universities appointed faculty members to participate. These appointees tended to be younger and non-tenured faculty members who were not in positions to decline participation. U.S. faculty members, on the other hand, mostly joined on their own initiative, enabled by their own professional expertise and networks. They were generally well-established in their careers and most had already obtained tenure. In summary, the project's inherent expert-beneficiary relationship contributed to the professional capital gap between U.S. and Colombian participants that was reinforced by supply factors (different education opportunities and required credentials in partner institutions and countries) as well as intra-university participation selection processes.

Institutional influences. Institutional norms—conveyed through written statements and policies as well as observable practices—set the parameters of faculty participation in international development partnerships. Institutional missions, policies, and procedures shaped faculty engagement in the HRP, though their relative influence varied across and within institutions.

Institutional missions and faculty evaluations. The HRP was highly relevant to the missions of member universities as they related to their internationalization and community outreach goals. However, faculty members did not always see a role for themselves in supporting institutional missions nor did faculty promotion and tenure policies encourage faculty to take on such roles. Many Colombian participants viewed

the fulfillment of internationalization and community service missions as the responsibility of university leadership and administrators rather than the work of faculty members. On the topic of internationalization, a professor explained, "it is a mission of the university—not of the professors but of the university and university programs." Some Colombian faculty members indicated that internationalization and service missions existed on paper but not in practice. "In the discourse, all universities want internationalization; they all want outreach, or community work or social impact, but I do not see it in reflected in actual commitments," said one Colombian faculty member. Inadequate faculty support for international and outreach work gave several Colombian participants the impression that their institutions were not making enough of an effort to fulfill these missions. "In practice, when it comes to supporting a professor to do this kind of work, it is not counted as the work of an instructor," explained one participant. A professor from another Colombian university explained the situation as follows:

> The universities say we are going to work together, but they do not give professors time to attend meetings for collaborative work or give academic release time to do work in teams. So, these partnerships remain on paper and not in reality.

Colombian faculty participants indicated that work on the HRP did not generally count unless it was part of their official faculty duties as outlined in their individual work plan. It helped that faculty work plans could be renegotiated every year and the HRP negotiated with the deans to ensure that one faculty member from each university had an official designation to work on the project. However, broader faculty engagement was limited since HRP work was not reflected in most faculty work plans. Because university

internationalization and service missions did not translate into policies and practices that encouraged or supported faculty work in these areas, they did not have a strong influence on Colombian faculty engagement in the HRP.

U.S. faculty participants generally saw a stronger connection between institutional goals and their work on the HRP. The connection between institutional missions and faculty work was strengthened through the faculty evaluation process in which faculty were evaluated against the university's tripartite mission of research, teaching, and service. It also helped that U.S. faculty members had some flexibility in defining how their work on the HRP fit faculty research, teaching, and service requirements when it came to evaluating their performance. Some U.S. faculty members suggested that their work on the HRP counted if they could tie it to one those three categories.

The evaluation process for U.S. faculty members created space for participants to ensure their HRP work counted, but it did not necessary encourage participation. Three important caveats emerged from interviews with U.S. faculty participants. First, the research, teaching, and service components are not valued equally in faculty evaluations. Most faculty members agreed that research counted most and service counted least. "Service is part of our mission, but faculty don't get a lot of credit for it…it's not what gets them moving in their careers," acknowledged one of the faculty members. Furthermore, what constituted service was interpreted differently across the university, ranging from serving on institutional committees to engaging in community outreach. Since the HRP lacked an explicit research component, HRP work was not highly rewarded. Still, some U.S. professors found ways to leverage their HRP connections and experiences into research opportunities, which enhanced the relevance of the HRP to

their academic work.

A second limitation is the fact that partnership work is not the most efficient way for faculty to fulfil their research, teaching, and service requirements. As one faculty member explained, academic partnerships require a lot of time and energy, but "at the end of the day, the only thing that counts is a peer reviewed publication and that is a barrier to developing partnerships." Therefore, even when international development partnership work counts, it is not necessarily a good investment of faculty time and effort from a promotion and tenure perspective.

Third, U.S. faculty members stressed that whether HRP work counted ultimately depended on how well the work aligned with their individual academic interests. While faculty work was not as narrowly defined for U.S. faculty as it was for Colombian faculty, participants suggested that each faculty member's scope of work determined whether HRP work was professionally relevant. For example, a faculty member's area of expertise determined whether their work had an international or service-oriented dimension. "International work is kind of the definition of your own area," said one participant. "The research part is very individual. If your focus is international, you obviously do it." explained another participant. As some disciplines and fields are more international or community-oriented than others, differences in faculty engagement are expected to follow disciplinary norms.

At the end of the day, partnership work was only as valuable as the academic output it generated for U.S. faculty. "You don't get more points for doing international work, you get points for publishing," said a U.S. professor who further explained that "the incentive structure is entirely loaded onto research that is peer reviewed and

published." Again, disciplinary norms played a role in determining how HRP work counted for faculty participants. While universities generally encourage research productivity, the content of academic publications is largely driven by disciplinary norms. The pressure to publish in reputable journals in one's own field can make it difficult for U.S. faculty members to collaborate with faculty from different disciplines and countries. "International journals are seen as suspect. People need to be publishing in their thematic or field journals first," acknowledged an international university partnership specialist.

Colombian faculty engagement in the HRP was more strongly influenced by institutional policies, while U.S. faculty engagement was more heavily influenced by disciplinary norms. The popularity of professional and discipline-based networks to which many U.S. faculty members belong contributes to this difference. As a result, institutional influences seemed more consequential for Colombian faculty participants than for U.S. participants.

Institutional characteristics. Institutional size, status, and affiliations also affected faculty engagement in the HRP. The five HRP partners varied greatly in terms of size. The smallest partner had an average enrollment of less than 3,000 students while the largest partners had an estimated enrollment size of over 30,000 students. Smaller university partners did not have as many qualified faculty members to choose from, which meant that HRP participants from these universities did not always possess the desired qualifications or were overworked. A faculty member from a small university explained how a scarcity of institutional and human resources limited faculty engagement:

> There are not many [human rights] professionals teaching, so this reduces the available human resources. So, what they do is make the most of the people they have…They think that making the most of a resource is to give them more responsibilities but not necessarily strengthen or support them in those areas.

A small pool of eligible faculty members puts added pressure on qualified faculty members, because there may not be other suitable alternatives if they wish to decline participation or share the additional workload. Faculty participants felt particularly squeezed when they were not able to successfully offload many of their existing responsibilities when taking on additional partnership responsibilities. A faculty participant at one of the smaller Colombian universities reported having to assume many of the academic and clinic responsibilities of her predecessor, while her original workload only decreased by a modest amount.

On the other end of the spectrum, faculty members at the largest Colombian university partner reporting having the opportunity to renegotiate their workload with their supervisor on a regular basis and a few had some success in shifting their priorities to work on the partnership. This was partially because the larger university had a larger pool of faculty, which made it easier to shift workloads along with changing priorities.

Institutional status and affiliations (e.g. religious, political, and commercial) also affected institutional and faculty engagement in partnership activities. Among the five HRP partners, two were public universities and three were private. Two were religiously-affiliated while the remaining three were nonsectarian. The public universities were subjected to greater government oversight and restrictions in terms of how they administered their financial resources, while private universities were described as more

business-minded and competitive. As a result, the public university partners found it difficult to hire new faculty to support the partnership. 'Hiring is a little complicated here because we are governed by rules of law," explained a Colombian university administrator.

It was generally easier for private universities to hire new staff on a short-time or contract basis. This partially explains why the private university partners had more adjunct and part-time staff working on the HRP than the public university partners. As a Colombian faculty member remarked:

> The profile of the professors is different. Those at the University of Las Montañas are typically tenured professors who are connected to the university throughout their entire teaching career, whereas many private universities still have a high number of adjunct professors. The institutions are different and they are in different contexts.

Colombian faculty members also described numerous instances in which their university's status as a private or public university influenced the type of human rights topics they could pursue in collaboration with HRP partners, as the quotes below illustrate:

> One could say that the character of a public university gives professors greater independence to develop their work and talk about human rights in a different way…The professors at the private or Catholic universities have less freedom, whereas the character of a public university allows professors to work with more independence.

> Private universities tend to be more reserved or inhibited. The ideology of the university often prohibits you from researching certain topics or limits what you can teach. For example, certain topics are sensitive religious issues.

Faculty members made direct comparisons between public and private universities when describing differences in faculty autonomy across the partnership. One faculty member reported no longer being able to work on certain human rights topics of personal interest after moving from a public to a private university in Colombia. It is worth noting that the reported restrictions on faculty scholarship at private universities appear to have more to do with the university's religious orientation than its status as a private university. Gender, sexuality, marriage, reproductive rights, and euthanasia were commonly cited examples of taboo human rights topics in the private universities, which are all religiously sensitive issues. **S**ince many private universities in Colombia are religious in nature, they tend to get painted with the same wide brush. This explains the many references to private universities being more reserved or religious in Colombia. In general, faculty participants at the two large public universities indicated having more choice and flexibility in their work than faculty at the smaller private universities. This aspect of faculty agency had important implications for the type of work faculty could pursue in the context of the HRP.

In summary, university cultures, missions, policies, and practices influenced faculty engagement in the HRP. Faculty at the two public research universities expressed more autonomy in the types of work they could pursue. U.S. participants felt a great degree of autonomy and freedom to work on the HRP as long as they had tenure and the work aligned with their research interests or areas of expertise. Colombian faculty

participants, especially those at private universities, felt more restricted by their institutional cultures and policies. As many Colombian faculty members had non-research and non-tenured positions, it was important that their job descriptions allowed room for partnership work. Faculty engagement also depended on faculty members' ability to collaborate with faculty from other universities. Due to their limited collaboration experiences, Colombian faculty reported more challenges than their U.S. partners in this area.

Intersection of professional capital and institutional policies. Faculty engagement in the HRP depended on faculty members' ability to navigate their own institutional cultures and policies. In this regard, institutional policies did not affect all faculty participants equally. Senior faculty members with more professional capital were generally better able to align their work on the HRP with their academic duties. This was especially true for U.S. and male faculty participants.

Faculty members with more accumulated professional capital were familiar with the inner-workings of their institutions and in a better position to advocate for themselves. The participants who expressed higher levels of individual freedom and confidence that their work on the HRP would be valued by their university all had a reasonable level of seniority within their institutions. "We have a lot of freedom," one senior faculty member in the U.S. admitted. Another noted that his annual faculty evaluation leaves a lot of room for interpretation so he makes sure to include all his HRP work in his self-evaluation. Junior faculty in Colombia were much less certain that their work on the HRP was valued by their university or counted toward their promotion. Many of them had adjunct appointments and were not very familiar with their

university's promotion and tenure policies, which made them less able to advocate for themselves and their work.

Even if partnership work counted, it was not generally a wise investment for tenure-track junior faculty with limited professional capital. The academic pressures and time constraints they faced made it difficult to invest time in international partnership work. One faculty participant explained that the slow and time-consuming nature of partnership work can be a risky endeavor for pre-tenure faculty members:

> To develop a relationship, it takes one full year. To gain all of the background information, that takes six months. And then it might work or it might not. It's an investment in time that might not actually work out. I still don't know yet. I hope it will. I'm doing my best…So before tenure, this is impossible.

Many agreed that having tenure made it easier for faculty members to participate in international partnerships. "Clearly once faculty are tenured and have the luxury, a lot of them will go out and become involved if they are interested in doing so," he said. One U.S. faculty member gave an example of wanting to carry out an international research project with colleagues abroad, but not being able to start it until after she obtained tenure. "I had the project framed in my mind since 2008, but I had to get tenure first," she admitted. International academic partnership work was widely regarded as detrimental to the timely professional advancement of junior faculty members seeking tenure. For this reason, junior and tenure-track professors are often discouraged from engaging in international development partnerships. "International work is frequently discouraged from a tenure standpoint in many institutions," remarked an international partnership

expert. “It’s the rare institution that encourages it among faculty who don’t have tenure,” he added.

Although most Colombian HRP participants were not tenure-track professors, they expressed similar pressures and heavy workloads typical of tenure-track professors. Many Colombian participants with junior status felt pinched between their already heavy workloads and the additional demands of an international partnership. Even though the law school deans agreed to commit at least fifty percent of one faculty members’ time to supporting the partnership, Colombian faculty members admitted that they could not easily hand off their existing academic responsibilities. “In theory, I have to be dedicated to the partnership half time; what that means is I have a full-time position at the university plus a half time position with the partnership,” explained a Colombian faculty member.

Some Colombian participants suggested that it was difficult to negotiate a reduction in their workload because their universities were not yet accustomed to these types of international partnerships and did not fully understand or appreciate the amount of time and effort they required. “Colombian legal education and law school administrators give preference to teaching but not to building relationships or collaborative work,” observed a Colombian professor. “A normal professor has many hours of class and a lot of administrative work, which does not leave space to build relations or collaborate with other professors,” she explained. One participant observed that Colombian universities talked about the importance of partnerships but did not make accommodations for faculty to engage in partnership work:

The universities say we are going to work together, but they do not give

> professors time to attend meetings for collaborative work or give academic release time to do work in teams. So, these partnerships remain on paper and not in reality.

While gaining institutional recognition and allowances for partnership work was an uphill battle for many, some participants believed their universities were starting to recognize the importance of partnership work and credited the HRP for this shift.

While HRP participation sometimes impeded faculty members' ability to advance within their university's promotion and tenure system, participants reported many professional benefits outside of this system. HRP participation gave faculty participants opportunities to learn new skills, earn an additional degree, and expand their professional networks. These opportunities were especially valuable for Colombian contract faculty members with limited job security in their current institutions. In fact, it is relatively common for faculty in Colombia to take extended leaves of absence to pursue professional development or advanced study abroad as opportunities arise through partnerships such as the HRP. In some cases, participation can provide faculty members with a form of job security. An international university partnership expert explained that externally-funded partnerships can allow contract faculty to remain employed by host-country universities that otherwise do not have sufficient funds to retain them. In such cases, participation provides faculty with opportunities for professional advancement and job security outside of the formal promotion and tenure system.

These findings suggest that partnership work has different payouts for faculty based on their professional status. Partnership work can be detrimental for junior and pre-tenured faculty members with less job security and familiarity with university

requirements and greater demands on their time. This is the reason U.S. faculty members are generally discouraged from participating in international partnerships until after they have obtained tenure. Consequently, most U.S. participants in the HRP were senior faculty members with tenure status. The opposite is true in Colombia where deans typically assigned the most junior and non-tenured faculty members to work on the HRP. Although participation did not necessarily yield high dividends within the formal promotion and tenure system, participation provided junior faculty with many valuable opportunities outside of this system.

Critical skills and experiences. Participants readily identified skills and experiences that they believed were important for faculty member engagement in university development partnerships. In general, these boiled down to general attitudes or perspectives conducive to partnership work and specific technical competencies related to project activities. Already possessing these skills and experiences or having the opportunity to develop them through the HRP influenced faculty collaboration in the HRP.

Important attitudes and perspectives. Colombian participants emphasized the importance of general attitudes and perspectives conducive to working in a collaborative and cross-cultural environment. This was something Colombian faculty members did not take for granted given their limited experience collaborating across universities and borders.

Teamwork & openness to other perspectives. Almost every single Colombian participant expounded the importance of teamwork and collaboration without hesitation or prompting. “Team work is definitely necessary,” explained one faculty member. “If a

person does not have the capacity to work with others, it is impossible to achieve the goals of the partnership." This general sentiment was expressed again and again by Colombian participants. "Team work was a big lesson and one that is important to maintain…Working in teams should be another part of the [faculty member's] profile—team work, working under pressure, working with many other people," said another faculty member.

Closely related to the ability to work in teams and collaborate with others was the frequently mentioned quality of being open to other perspectives and ways of doing things. "It is very important that people have the perspective of accepting other cultures. Because unless a person has this perspective, she cannot interact with another person, explained one Colombian faculty member." "One must have that openness to establishing ties. It is what ensures the success of these programs. For that reason, a perhaps more cosmopolitan vision also helps a lot," said another. The quote below explains how the quality of being open to other perspectives is both essential and enriching.

> It is important to be very open. Openness is very important in the sense of being able to accept different ways of thinking and to be able to accept that sometimes it is not just about what you think, because there are other positions. That is something we have seen a lot here in the [HRP], because we are enriched all the time by the contributions of each member in terms of their thoughts, their disciplinary backgrounds, and their knowledge. So, openness is very important. It helps one to understand why someone else thinks a certain way so that I could also change my perspective.

U.S. and Colombian participants frequently used the terms *openness* (*apertura*), *acceptance* (*aceptación*), and *cosmopolitan* (*cosmopolitano*) to describe individual qualities that were necessary in order to be successful working on these types of projects.

U.S. participants were more accustomed to working in partnerships and less likely to raise this topic on their own without any prompting. Those who did raise this issue gave similar feedback. For example, one U.S. faculty member identified "intellectual curiosity about other legal cultures and transnational lawyering, openness to new ideas, and the ability and desire to collaborate," as important traits.

Colombian participants focused their attention on the ability to work in teams and across differences precisely because they found it incredibly difficult in practice. This is largely due to their limited experience working in teams of any kind, much less working in international teams. Several faculty members attributed this to a highly competitive Colombian culture that transcends all levels of Colombian society. "Here in Colombia we are very regionalist. Those of us from Medellín say that Medellín is the best and those from Cali say that people from Cali are the best," explained a faculty member who had spent many years living abroad. This sense of competition and superiority is also evident at the institutional level where "people from every university say, 'our university is the best,'" she continued. "We have a long tradition of competition, so it has been a learning experience for us." Status, class, and political differences were described as additional barriers to collaboration in a country that is very political and deeply divided along socio-economic lines.

One faculty member explained that these competitive and individualistic tendencies extended to Colombia's the legal profession as well.

> The Colombian lawyer is absolutely independent, each one fighting for himself…The profession is full of people who work alone and do everything alone and who fight all alone and wage war all alone. This is a very different view of the profession than is seen by professionals in other places who work as part of a team.

However, due to the increased risks associated with working in the field of human rights, this same faculty member conceded that human rights lawyers tend to be more collaborative than other types of lawyers in Colombia. He said, "On the topic of human rights, there is more team work due to the risks or the danger of working on certain topics. Because of these susceptibilities, we are increasingly working in teams so as to not be alone." Colombia's, competitive and individualistic tendencies can be attributed to a combination of personal, cultural, and geopolitical factors. In light of these traits, it is not surprising that Colombians unanimously emphasized the challenges of teamwork.

Some participants said the HRP was a valuable and unique opportunity for them to gain experience working in teams. One Colombian faculty member said:

> I have always felt that we must learn to work together, with everyone in general and with other universities as well…But it is a complicated matter and you have to learn how to work as a team in all scenarios, not just with other universities but with students, with communities, in all areas.

Another Colombian faculty member explained that the HRP was unlike any kind of collaboration she had ever experienced:

> "I have worked in networks but it is not the same as this type of partnership," explained a Colombian faculty member. "Networks are getting together and

talking about what we are doing and helping each other to defend ourselves in an aggressive or hostile environment. But this partnership and joint academic work is very different," she explained.

Thus, despite the challenges of working in teams, most Colombians believed that it was important and even found it rewarding. The belief that faculty members were gaining valuable teamwork experience through the HRP helped strengthen faculty engagement.

Interpersonal skills. Alongside the general disposition of being open and accepting of others, participants described the importance of having good interpersonal skills. U.S. and Colombian participants alike described the importance of being a good listener and effective communicator. "Communication is key, said a U.S. faculty member." This was important on an individual and project level. A sense of solidarity, listening to different positions, and assertiveness were also identified as important conditions for being able to work together in pursuit of common goals. Charisma and compassion were also identified as important traits, especially for participants doing community outreach. "Above all, we care that the people who are working on these projects have a lot of charisma and are liked by the communities that receive them, as well as by their students," said one participant.

In summary, participants believed that being collaborative, communicative, assertive, and charismatic were all important skills or qualities that would help faculty be effective collaborators in these types of projects. While some these qualities may seem obvious to those who are accustomed to working internationally and in teams, this was relatively new for many Colombian participants who frequently described the Colombian culture as regionalist and individualistic and their respective universities as competitive,

traditional, and insular. For the Colombian participants, the ability to establish good relations with others was just as critical to being technically competent in human rights.

International experience. Several faculty members believed that prior international experience enabled faculty members to be more effective communicators and collaborators. "International experience is fundamental," affirmed a Colombian participant. To understand how others think and understand the work you are doing is essential to having comprehensive knowledge, she said." A U.S. faculty member reinforced this point:

> It certainly helps to have international experience and an understanding of how systems work elsewhere…how things work and don't work…We have to have at least a sense of trying to understand the context—even if we don't have a deep knowledge of it—to get a sense of whether what you're saying to people makes sense and to know how to make sense in their context. And it's very hard to do that if you haven't worked with people in very different cultures. So, I do think that's critical.

Participants generally agreed that prior international experience made faculty members more knowledgeable and capable of seeing their own circumstances through a different and sometimes more critical lens. They noted that those with those with prior international experience were more likely to be open-minded and more effective working across differences. "I believe that a person who has traveled has the ability to interact with other cultures and with other universities and is a more open-minded person. It creates more openness," said a Colombian faculty member. Another faculty member explained how her prior international experiences gave her the confidence she needed to

believe she was capable of working in the HRP.

Others noted that, while helpful, it was not realistic to expect faculty members to have relevant international experience on top of subject matter expertise and a willingness and ability to participate. The pool of potential participants doing relevant work at member universities was already so small that prior international experience was largely viewed as a bonus. This explains why so few faculty participants had relevant international experience prior to joining the HRP. Most U.S. faculty participants had international work experience, but not necessarily pertaining to Colombia. Many Colombian faculty participants, on the other hand, had few international experiences of any kind apart from those who studied abroad. "Many of us in Medellín have not had international collaboration experience," explained a Colombian participant. On this point, an important distinction was made between professors in the capital city compared with the rest of the country. "Bogotá is much more cosmopolitan, cultural capital is more concentrated there," said one of the Colombian professors.

Some pointed out that faculty members do not need to leave their country to gain an appreciation for other perspectives and ways of doing things. "It is not necessarily a determining factor, because we can also find people that have not traveled but have the ability to work in teams," said a Colombian professor. Just as international experience is not the only way to mold faculty members into open-minded and critical thinkers, it cannot be expected that all faculty with prior international experience possess this mindset. Still, most participants thought that prior international experience was good preparation for these types of international partnerships even if they lacked this experience themselves.

Commitment and patience. Participants acknowledged the challenges of international partnership and human rights work and emphasized the need for faculty participants to be committed and patient. Since many Colombian faculty members were assigned to work on the partnership as part of their normal academic duties, their commitment to the partnership could not be taken for granted. For some, having willing participants was a minimum requirement for success, as reflected in the quote below.

> In order for a partnership to achieve a real commitment and results, it is necessary that people enter this work voluntarily. They must say, "yes, I want to participate and I like the topic of human rights." If they do it simply because "the dean put me in this position and because I am interested in the payment," then it is not going to work."

Participants suggested that giving more attention to how faculty members are selected and recruiting willing participants could improve faculty commitment and engagement in future partnerships.

Patience was another quality that participants identified as being important for faculty engagement as they acknowledged that it would take years to realize some of the benefits of their efforts. "It's a long haul," explained a U.S. participant of the relationship. Colombian participants also noted the need to identify and establish trusting relationships with community members before they could begin community outreach work. "You cannot start working with the community overnight; it requires time to establish a relationship with a vulnerable community." said a Colombian participant.

Most HRP participants revealed an understanding and acceptance of the complex and slow-moving nature of the work they were doing. Having a background in human

rights appears to have helped many faculty participants set realistic expectations for their work in the HRP. When asked about the long-term impact of the HRP, a faculty member gave this thoughtful and eloquent response:

> My theory of change is very personal; it's what I completely live by. It's the Martin Luther King Jr. quote, "the arc of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice." That's my frame for working in the field of human rights, a field that is fraught with much complexity, backsliding, and partial successes. The only thing that keeps it moving on that arc of the moral universe and bending is individuals who feel that they have the knowledge and skills and the passion that they need to make a difference in whatever circles they find themselves. It's not making claims that we've changed the face of human rights in Antioquia. There are huge challenges ahead. But I think that we've certainly made a difference in the lives of a community of people…For the students, we've opened up a new way of thinking and understanding about their role in the world as lawyers and professionals. For the faculty, we've opened up different ways of engaging pedagogically so that their students are able to get those skills and ways of thinking. For several individuals, I'd say we've pretty much changed their lives and that's powerful.

The above quote perfectly captures the dedication, patience, and persistence that participants described as essential qualities for faculty success in the HRP and similar partnerships. Although many faculty participants embodied these qualities, they expressed frustration that the project emphasized more immediate and quantifiable

results. Faculty members reported feeling caught between the expectations of their funders and the on-the-ground realities of their work, as the below quote illustrates:

> USAID needs to understand the context in which we work…It is not possible to just start working with the community. It is a process. You have to find a contact in the community and it has to be done gradually. We don't want to do a job where you have a lot of numbers to report but it is poorly done.

The project's emphasis on quantitative results rather than qualitative processes gave faculty members the impression that USAID and HED did not fully understand or appreciate the incremental changes they were achieving. "There are some things you can't quantify," said one faculty participant.

Although U.S. partners did not fully understand the context in which Colombian participants worked, many expressed an appreciation for the effort that goes into developing academic and community relationships and acknowledged the difficulties of measuring that work. Unfortunately, the short-term nature of the HRP created an internal conflict as the project needed to demonstrate short-term results while trying to develop long-term relationships and bring about lasting change. This gave faculty members the impression that U.S. partners did not fully understand or appreciate their sustained efforts.

Of all the attitudes and perspectives Colombian participants emphasized as important for faculty engagement in UDPs, teamwork and interpersonal skills were the most important and most challenging given their limited experience working in teams. Participants also described the importance of compassion and patience, but noted that

most human rights professionals already possess these qualities due to the nature of their work.

Technical skills. In contrast to soft skills, technical skills are those that allow individuals to perform specific tasks. They are often teachable and measureable. In addition to the soft skills mentioned above, participants gave many examples of specific technical skills that are important for faculty to be effective in the HRP and similar lines of work. U.S. faculty participants emphasized these skills more frequently than Colombian participants, likely because technical expertise was a requirement for U.S. faculty participation.

Human rights expertise was an obvious requirement for many participants since that was the focus of the HRP, though not everyone had a strong background in human rights. Many Colombian participants were concurrently pursuing masters' degrees in human rights, while others had degrees in related areas such as social work and sociology. Nonetheless, an interest in human rights united and engaged most faculty.

A background and familiarity with clinical education was also important given the project's focus of legal clinics and educational form. A few Colombian participants called for specific experience working in legal clinics, especially Colombian clinics. It is important "to understand how clinics are run here in Colombia...If you don't have experience in legal clinics I think it is difficult to work in the partnership," said a Colombian clinic coordinator.

Faculty also mentioned the need for faculty to have specific skills related to clinical teaching, case work, and community outreach. The ability to write grants and manage projects were additional skills that participants identified as important for

international partnership work. Many noted that faculty members often do not have the time or skillset to effectively manage projects. “We work primarily with professors and their primary expertise is very academic, so it’s very hard for them to engage in basic management aspects,” added a university development partnership specialist.

In describing critical partnership skills and experiences, participants focused on the skills and experiences that that most directly affected their work and ability to collaborate effectively in the HRP. Therefore, no technical skills emerged as being more significant than others, as they varied according to each faculty member’s role in the partnership. Most Colombian participants focused on general attitudes and perspectives related to working in teams while U.S. participants typically described specific job-related skills. This divide reflects the different roles that U.S. and Colombian faculty members played as well as the collaboration challenges they personally experienced in the HRP.

Cross-border and cross-cultural collaboration. One of the most immediate challenges to faculty engagement in any university development partnership is coordinating work across distances, languages, and cultures. Many faculty members mentioned that their participation in the HRP was greatly limited due to the logistical and communication challenges of collaborating across borders and cultures.

Logistics of being present. Establishing a collaborative relationship across distances and cultures takes considerable time, effort, and resources. Even as new technologies make cross-border communication easier, face-to-face meetings and visits are important for building relationships, understanding, and trust among partners. As one participant explained:

> It takes time to build the collaboration. It means a trip to basically just meet people. As they say in Colombia "el santo es el milagro." If you don't show up, there is no miracle. It just doesn't happen by phone or by Skype. They have to see you. They have to see if they willing to put their time and effort in this. It takes time.

This quote emphasizes the fact that faculty relationships do not develop overnight simply because a partnership agreement has been signed. They require a great deal of personal commitment and the investment in time and resources. Although the HRP offset some of the high start-up costs of initiating faculty collaborations, participants noted the logistical challenges of getting faculty together.

Navigating the immigration policies of the partner country is often one of the first and most significant barriers that faculty members face. While U.S. citizens cross international borders with relative ease (they can typically obtain a 90-day visa at the airport upon arrival in Colombia), it is far more challenging for Colombian participants to visit the United States. "There are visa obstacles and obstacles to working and doing research. Even in academia, the admission of Colombian teachers into American universities…is very difficult," noted one participant. As an example, she described the process and requirements for Colombians to get visas to travel to the United States as follows:

> You have to have a letter of invitation from the American university or institution. You have to have a (certain) sum of financial resources in your financial account. You have to be working in Colombia or have a connection that (ensures that) you

> are going to return to your country—that you are not going to stay and live in the U.S.

In all, she estimated that it takes about three months for Colombian citizens to get a visa to travel to the U.S. Even excluding the cumbersome visa requirements, the time and expense of international travel make cross-border collaboration difficult.

Academic calendars also make it difficult for faculty to collaborate across borders. The typical nine-month academic calendar that universities follow is a bit of a paradox for partnerships. On the one hand, there are three months of the year when some faculty members can more easily travel for partnership activities. On the other hand, students are not on campus and faculty members often use this time for research or personal vacation, which makes it difficult to coordinate schedules or plan activities during this time. A U.S. faculty member explained how this conundrum affects international partnership work:

> I think of myself as being locked in. I'm locked in for nine months of the year and I'm free for three months. And in those three months I need to collect data. Those happen to be the three months where the universities are out there. They are on vacation. So, in terms of collaboration those are some of the barriers.

A Colombian faculty member gave the example of conflicting expectations in terms of when partnership work can be conducted. While traveling over the weekend might minimize the amount of time faculty spend away from the classroom, not all faculty members are eager to dedicate their personal weekends to partnership work. "I have no problem sacrificing my lunch hour, but do not touch my weekend," said one Colombian faculty member in a lighthearted but sincere manner. The mere logistics of getting faculty

together can slow the pace of relationship building and activity implementation, creating added pressure for faculty members working within short-term university development partnerships. On the other hand, external pressure and funding that UDPs provide can speed up the process of relationship building, thus removing a key barrier to faculty collaboration over the long-term.

Language barriers. Language was a frequently mentioned barrier that prevented many interested faculty members and students from fully participating in HRP activities and exchanges. Due to a language barrier, some HRP faculty participants found that cross-border collaboration was happening at a rather superficial level and limited to a small subset of individuals with proficiency in both English and Spanish. "You miss many things that you could have taken advantage of in these types of partnerships by not having an additional language," said a Colombian faculty member. "A more back-and-forth dialogue is lacking," observed another Colombian faculty member. Many participants, especially Colombian faculty members, felt that the language barrier prevented them from taking full advantage of partnership opportunities.

Being bilingual in English and Spanish greatly facilitated faculty engagement, while non-bilingual participants struggled to communicate and felt they were missing out on many valuable partnership opportunities. "You lose many things that you could take advantage of in this type of a partnership by not having an additional language," said one participant. The importance of speaking a second language depended on one's role within the partnership. English was more valuable for the internationally-minded Colombian faculty members who wanted to pursue professional development opportunities abroad or engage in international human rights advocacy.

Faculty members pointed out that many academic conferences and journals in the field—two important means for faculty members to advance their careers—use English as their working language. Being able to take part in these types of activities was especially important for the Colombian faculty members who were early in their careers and had limited access to professional development opportunities at home. For the Colombian faculty members who were more focused on clinical education and community engagement within Colombia, English proficiency was not as critical.

Regardless of one's role in the partnership, nearly all faculty members agreed that language skills opened doors and made it easier to learn from and collaborate with others in the partnership. Participants also acknowledged that it is not always possible to find subject matter experts who are fluent in both languages. Fortunately, faculty participants found ways to minimize the language barrier. Translation support, along with a great deal of patience and passion for the subject matter, helped faculty members overcome the occasional setbacks and inconveniences of working across different languages.

Most of the challenges faculty members experienced working across borders, cultures, and languages come with the territory of international work. Colombian faculty members reported more barriers to international engagement than U.S. faculty participants, perhaps because they had fewer international partnership experiences and found themselves on the periphery of the global economy.

Faculty influence in partnership decisions. Efficacy is an important indicator of faculty engagement. Geopolitical, project, institutional, and individual factors all affected the sense of efficacy U.S. and Colombian faculty perceived in the HRP. Many participants felt that their efficacy was limited because they did not have enough time to

devote to the partnership or were not as involved in partnership activities as desired. A Colombian participant observed a direct correlation between having time to participate and having a voice in project decisions, equating time with power and influence. Faculty positions, workloads, and institutional support accounted for different amounts of time that faculty could dedicate to the partnership.

Access to information was also critical. Faculty who were not heavily involved in day-to-day partnership activities often felt left out or that they did not have enough information to be more effective in their roles. “I could have been more effective if I had had a better sense of what they needed,” said a U.S. faculty member. Many Colombian participants believed that the small group of Colombian clinic coordinators and project staff who attended weekly project meetings had the greatest voice and influence in partnership decisions. Some suggested that they had more voice in the partnership than U.S. faculty members because of their frequent meetings and the fact that they were the activity implementers. Communication and frequency of interaction were both project factors that influenced whether or not faculty members felt they had sufficient access to information to be effective in the HRP.

If Colombian faculty lacked agency in partnership design and early decision-making stage, they made up for it during the implementation stage. Colombian participants understood that partnership activities started and ended with them. Some participants noted that USAID had certain expectations about project that were not fully realized because they did not match faculty interests or abilities. One of the most significant examples was the fact that the HRP was intended to focus on post-conflict human rights issues, but Colombian faculty participants preferred to work on human

rights cases that were less risky and more relevant to their everyday lives. As a result, the HRP did not focus as heavily on the post-conflict agenda as the donors had intended.

The HRP also expanded faculty agency in one critical way. The creation of a Colombian clinic network gave Colombian faculty members the space to exchange ideas and develop a sense of collective agency. Many Colombian faculty members attributed their satisfaction and influence in the project to the Colombian network's weekly meetings.

Feeling supported and respected by colleagues was another condition that increased faculty self-efficacy beliefs within the HRP. Colombian participants said that having partners who listened to them and accommodated their suggestions was important for their own sense of agency within the partnership. "Individuals always have a voice, but it is more a matter of being heard," said one participant. In this respect, Colombian faculty members felt supported and respected by their Colombian and U.S. colleagues. "The team at State gives space for my opinions. My colleagues here also give space for my opinions and suggestions," said a Colombian faculty member.

Weekly team meetings with Colombian professors and empathetic U.S. partners expanded Colombian faculty participants' sense of efficacy in the HRP. "She was always very open and listened to what the professors here had to say," said a Colombian faculty member of the U.S. director.

Finally, U.S. and Colombian participants both emphasized the importance of having flexibility within the project to make changes as new opportunities emerged or circumstances changed. Colombian partners praised the flexibility of their U.S. partners and the project director similarly praised staff at HED and USAID for their flexibility.

"They have to ask if we can find money in the budget, but we always do," said the director, describing how they try to accommodate the needs and preferences of their Colombian partners. She added, "I have to hand it to USAID, they have never questioned our juggling of the budgets." This flexibility allowed partners to take advantage of new opportunities, adapt to changes, or make improvements based on new knowledge, all of which strengthened faculty agency and engagement within the partnership.

Summary. Faculty capability beliefs were an important influence on faculty engagement in the HRP. Individual factors such as professional capital and relevant skills and experiences influenced faculty agency and self-efficacy beliefs. Institutional, project, and geopolitical dynamics also influenced faculty capability beliefs. Whereas faculty members reported institutional, project, and geopolitical limitations to their engagement, the network of human rights professionals created by the project helped faculty overcome some of these challenges. In this sense, the network expanded faculty capability beliefs and engagement in the partnership and human rights work more broadly. Participants described a specific set of circumstances that contributed to the partnership's success in expanding faculty engagement and influence. This included the respectful and considerate nature of the participants, the support and commitment of the project director, effective project communication and coordination, and the flexibility of U.S. partners to accommodate suggestions and improvements.

Project Conclusion

Although this study was conducted shortly before the conclusion phase of the partnership, faculty members provided valuable insight on whether and in what ways they expected to remain engaged in the partnership after project funding ended. Faculty

satisfaction with the project, perceptions of success, and expectations about the partnership's long-term sustainability influenced long-term faculty engagement plans.

Faculty satisfaction and perceptions of success. By most accounts, the HRP was highly successful in supporting key project objectives related to faculty and institutional development, student training, and community outreach.

Faculty development. Faculty members reported learning a lot and gaining valuable skills, experiences, and connections through the partnership. Short courses, faculty exchanges, collaborative clinical cases, and preparing and presenting a shadow report to the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child were some of the highlights mentioned by faculty members. In addition to expanding their knowledge and skillset about human rights, international advocacy, and clinical methodology, faculty members reported gaining a deeper understanding and appreciation for human rights work or developing interests in other human rights issues.

Collaborating with other human rights professionals from other universities was a new and enriching experience for many faculty members. Many faculty members felt especially proud of the relationships they developed with other faculty members and the professional community they created. "We have a genuine space for people to build equal partnerships with people whom they never would have expected to have equal partnerships with," observed one participant. "These are lifelong relationships that we built," she observed. Faculty members talked about the importance of professional networks for building social capital, confidence, and solidarity. These are especially valuable in the field of human rights in a place where human rights work can be risky. "It has allowed me to meet very interesting people and become more hopeful about what we

are doing here," said a Colombian faculty member of the experience. "It makes me feel like part of a community," he added.

Many Colombian faculty members noted that their participation in the partnership, especially the international advocacy activities, gave them access to platforms where their voices could be heard and their work recognized by an international community. A Colombian faculty member described this as an invaluable and empowering experience:

> I have been teaching children's legislation for 11 years and for the first time I did and taught international advocacy—that for me is priceless. It is invaluable that I went beyond the classroom setting and that there is an international body that knows everything I've said in the classroom and worked on with my students.

Accessing an international community of practice and gaining international visibility were highly praised outcomes of the partnership that most participants had not anticipated.

Whatever their specific goals, most faculty participants agreed that participation in the HRP resulted in enhanced human rights capacity. "We've clearly set a community of practice on a path that has the capacity to change Antioquia. Several will leave Antioquia who never would have believed that they would do that in their life. They will go outside and they will study and they will become internationally important people," remarked one of the participants.

Although the project focused on building the capacity of Colombian faculty members and institutions, U.S. participants also reported learning about human rights and gaining a lot of skills, experiences, and connections from their participation. In fact, some

faculty members said that project objectives should have explicitly mentioned the benefits to U.S. partners, or somehow emphasized the mutual learning that takes place in these partnerships rather than framing the U.S. partners as the experts and the Colombian partners as the beneficiaries. This, they believed, could have put the partners on more equal footing.

Student learning. The impact on students was another source of pride and accomplishment for faculty participants. "For the students, we've opened up a new way of thinking and understanding about their role in the world as lawyers and professionals," said one participant. A Colombian faculty member observed the following changes in her students as a result of the HRP: "Now, they express themselves better, have a broader legal language, and a greater social commitment. "There is definitely a change in the mentality of the students," said another participant. Faculty members also appreciated the life-changing experiences their students gained through HRP, as reflected in the quote below:

> The clinic and partnership brought things to the university that for many students have been benefits and opportunities that in their minds they had never expected…These are very big and very beautiful opportunities that deserve all the care and support because they are allowing students from a region like this to go out into the world…to meet professors or students from the United States, and to relate to other cultures.

Institutional capacity building. Participants also reported many successful partnership outcomes related to institutional capacity building. Some faculty said they were taking what they learned from the partnership and applying it to their courses. Some

noticed greater student and faculty engagement and broader institutional support for human rights clinics as a result of the visibility they gained through the HRP. “My university started with three students in the clínica jurídica…now we have 33 students enrolled… everyone wants to belong to the clinic,” reported a Colombian participant.

Strengthening or creating human rights clinics in the Colombian member universities was an explicit goal of the project and an area in which faculty members witnessed a great deal of progress. Many faculty members reported a high level of engagement and satisfaction with clinical activities and collaborations. “The richness for the [law school] is the clinical methodology; we had never worked on that before,” said a Colombian administrator. “The clinic was born with the project. Before, they did not have a legal clinic and now they have been working very diligently on it,” a faculty participant explained. In just a few years, Santa Cecilia managed to create a new and thriving human rights clinic as a direct result of its participation in the HRP. “The clinic has developed into a center, a hub of many things, covering the three main institutional areas of teaching, research, and outreach. It has become one of the darlings of the [law school],” confirmed a Santa Cecilia faculty member. “It is as if the clinic is a baby and we have to take good care of it,” said another, explaining the value of the new clinic that resulted from the HRP.”

High levels of satisfaction and tangible benefits to participation fueled faculty engagement in the HRP. “Engagement is happening and spreading,” observed one participant. U.S. and Colombian participants reported a great deal of satisfaction with the partnership, though some wished that they could have participated more often or that the partnership could have carried out more activities in its short timeframe. Responding to a

follow-up question about what could be improved to increase satisfaction with the partnership, a faculty participant replied, “One always wants more. I would like more time, for example. Time to enjoy it.”

Although faculty members accomplished many goals through the HRP and were generally satisfied with their participation, faculty were less certain about which aspects of the project could or should be sustained. In part, this is because the continuation of the partnership did not depend on faculty engagement alone and participants were uncertain of the future of the partnership once project funding ended.

Partnership sustainability. Faculty participants identified many different aspects of the project that they wanted to see continue in some capacity. The forms of sustainability faculty described generally fell into one of three categories: sustained activities, sustained benefits, and sustained relationships.

Many faculty members expressed an interest in sustaining some of the partnership activities, especially the academic and clinical collaborations and opportunities to network with other human rights professionals. However, most participants were uncertain of their ability to support these activities once project funding ended. This form of sustainability, funding to continue partnership activities, appears most aligned with the donor’s expectations of project sustainability. Program documents urging partners to plan for sustainability suggested they seek out additional partnerships and funding opportunities to continue partnership activities.

Even in the absence of continued funding, participants identified many benefits to participation that would outlast the partnership. Faculty and institutional capacity building were two examples of benefits that would likely be sustained with or without

continued faculty engagement in partnership activities. Some faculty hoped to continue working in international advocacy, even though they did not need to remain engaged in the partnership to do so now that they have developed international advocacy skills and connections. On the issue of faculty capacity building, U.S. faculty member observed:

> Bottom line sustainability is we've built capacity. So even if not another dime comes to this project, I feel completely happy that we now leave Antioquia with several shining lights—people who understand their own expertise and are able to use it. The biggest threat to that is that their universities won't give them the space and time to use it.

Some participants hoped that the human rights clinics would be sustained by their institutions after having demonstrated their value. "Clinics in general are not thoroughly visible or supported…I think the partnership gave them importance and recognition and maybe they will be sustainable from now on," said a Colombian faculty member. Two Colombian university partners made significant reforms to their human rights curricula, which they expected to be sustained regardless of the HRP's future.

Maintaining relationships was the third benefit that faculty members expressed an interest in sustaining. "Even if this project ends I will still keep in touch with various people in this network, because we've developed not only a social connection, but also an intellectual connection," said a U.S. faculty participant. What remained uncertain was whether the partnership structure created through the HRP would remain intact. Some expected the network to take a different shape once funding disappeared and the true commitments of faculty members and institutions revealed themselves. One faculty member said that the end of project funding provided an opportunity for participants to

reflect on the size and structure of the network and what activities should be continued. Some participants wanted to reduce the size of the network to make it more manageable and only include only faculty members who are fully committed and engaged. Others hoped to see the network expand to include other universities and perhaps even other countries. A U.S. faculty member was confident that the partnership would continue in some form, but left it up to the Colombian faculty members to determine what that might look like. She explained:

> I'm pretty optimistic that in some way, shape or form that this [project] will continue as a network. And it will add new partners, I'm sure. There are faculty from other universities that have expressed a lot of interest. It will be sort of a coalition of the willing…It's up to them. They'll take it where they want to.

While most faculty participants expressed a strong desire to maintain the professional network and relationships they developed over the course of the project, they expected the nature of their interactions to change when the project ended. For some, the absence of an external driver would allow a more organic and feasible partnership structure to emerge in its place.

The three different forms of sustainability faculty participants described, the continuation of activities, benefits, and relationships, suggest three very different paths forward and not all of them require active faculty participation or external project funding. It is important that any attempt to sustain partnership activities or faculty engagement consider the many different forms of sustainability that are both desirable and feasible for participants.

Sustaining faculty engagement. Faculty described four necessary conditions for their continued engagement: money, time, and commitment. “I think any kind of intentional collaborative efforts along the lines of what I’m describing would be virtually impossible without continued funding,” said a U.S. faculty member who wanted the project to continue supporting academic collaborations around teaching methodologies, clinical cases, and research.

Some participants suggested that having enough time to participate was more important than external funding. “More than money, they need time. Give time to the professors,” said one Colombian faculty member. Some were doubtful that faculty could make time for the partnership if they or their institutions did not receive compensation. As a U.S. faculty member explained:

> The things that get funded tend to get priority. And people are very busy, so if there’s not a funding stream, it makes it a little harder for that to become the priority. Instead, everyone goes off and looks for funding in some other project.

Another U.S. faculty member expressed an interest in staying involved and doing comparative research related to the project, but ultimately concluded, “thinking realistically, there is no way I could do this because of time. But ideally this would be a nice thing to do.”

Individual commitment was the third requirement for continued faculty engagement. As was noted earlier, most Colombian faculty participants were assigned to work on the partnership and not all of them were equally committed to the partnership. A Colombian faculty member at one of the private universities said she was highly committed to remaining engaged, but this alone was not sufficient. “If it depends on me

and my will, I see it being totally possible," she said, "but the institutional aspect can limit you if they do not give you the time or the space or if they do not sign an agreement."

Colombian faculty members said that institutional considerations would determine whether and how they remain engaged in partnership activities. A Colombian participant said she did not think her institution would be interested in supporting partnership activities if it were not receiving external funds. "The Colombian private university is like a company; it does not want to give money if he's not going to get a big profit out of it," she said. Others simply did not believe that expressed institutional support for the partnership would turn into material support, however sincere their intentions. "The dean seems to be willing to continue and very enthusiastic, but sometimes that is not reflected in real support," observed one participant. The project temporarily increased faculty agency within their own institutions by applying external funding and pressure to support their engagement in HRP activities. Faculty anticipated that much of this support would disappear once the project ended, though some were optimistic that the HRP demonstrated the importance of supporting human rights partnerships and clinics over the long-term.

Faculty expectations of sustainability and continued engagement suggest that faculty goals and needs evolved alongside the project. Most faculty members expressed an interest in continuing some aspects of the partnership, but no one said they expected or wanted to partnership to continue exactly as it was. In some ways, that is the greatest testament to the success of the partnership. The project director described how U.S. partners initially provided a lot of guidance and expertise, but became less relevant once

Colombian faculty members acquired new skills, expanded their professional networks, and gained confidence and visibility working in the field of human rights:

> Within the past year, the initiation of project ideas and the strategic discussions almost all take place in Antioquia. The center of gravity has totally shifted to Antioquia, so now I'm here as a sounding board...At this point, I'm sitting in my rocking chair and they're telling these stories about all the great things they are doing and I'm just applauding. I'm the audience. I'm the cheerleader. I'm saying go, go, go, this is great, this is exactly how it's done.

Summary. Faculty perceptions of success and sustainability are important indicators of what faculty value in partnerships and how they are likely to continue supporting the partnership over the long run. Faculty participants expressed a high level of personal satisfaction with the partnership. Many were highly engaged and hoped that some aspects of the partnership could be sustained once the project ended. However, faculty members did not believe they would have ample time to dedicate to the partnership activities once their institutions stopped receiving funding and other activities took priority. During the project, external funding enabled faculty engagement by making the partnership a priority for universities, allowing them to give faculty members some protected time or financial support to participate. The doubts that many faculty members expressed about the willingness of their universities to continue supporting their engagement caused some participants to wonder why institutional commitment to the partnership was not taken into consideration when selecting university participants in the first place as this could have increased the likelihood of sustained faculty engagement.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusion

Overview

This dissertation explored faculty engagement at the crossroads of higher education and international development through a case study of a U.S.-Colombia human rights partnership (HRP). Previous literature on internationalization of higher education, international development partnerships, and faculty engagement, as well as the researcher's own experience working in international development partnerships, informed this study. The concepts of faculty agency and the transnational and transversal character of education policies and practices further shaped this study as it attempted to understand faculty engagement opportunities and constraints across dimensions of power, time, and place. This study sought to answer the following question and sub-questions:

1. How do faculty members understand the opportunities and constraints of their engagement in the U.S.-Colombian human rights partnership?
    a. What factors or processes do faculty participants perceive to be most influential in their engagement?
    c. How does faculty engagement vary across and at different stages of the U.S.-Colombian human rights partnership?

Findings were analyzed and presented according to two synthesis models that called attention to five stages of international university partnerships and four dimensions of international faculty engagement. Findings were organized around the five stages of international university partnerships: design, initiation, negotiation, collaboration, and conclusion. At each stage, attention was paid to individual and professional, institutional, partnership, and geopolitical influences on faculty engagement.

Examining Faculty Engagement

Stages of engagement. Faculty engagement in the human rights partnership (HRP) and influences on faculty agency perspectives varied as the partnership evolved and faculty expectations and circumstances changed alongside it. It was anticipated that faculty motivations would play an important role in shaping initial faculty engagement. Indeed, many faculty members expressed personal and professional motivations for getting involved, including the desire to learn about or support human rights development, improve teaching and outreach capacity, develop research interests, gain valuable skills and experiences, and expand their professional networks. However, Colombian faculty motivations were overshadowed by the fact that most faculty members did not join on their own initiative but instead were assigned to work on the partnership by their deans. U.S. faculty members, on the other hand, joined on their own initiative and reported strong intrinsic motivations for participating.

When Colombian faculty members first became involved, they had limited knowledge of the partnership and its objectives and almost no prior experience working in international university partnerships of any kind. Consequently, Colombian faculty members were initially not sure what to expect from the partnership and many were skeptical and even resistant to the idea of partnership. Unfavorable opinions of U.S. government involvement in Colombia's troubled political history and the project's apparent neglect of Colombian human rights expertise created resentment among Colombian faculty participants and threatened the credibility of the partnership at this early stage of the partnership.

U.S. faculty members entered the partnership with relevant human rights expertise, but they did not have in-depth knowledge of the Colombian human rights situation or familiarity with any of the Colombian universities. This was partly influenced by the partnership design and timeline in which U.S. partners were selected based primarily on their human rights expertise and not given ample time to get to know their partners or learn much about Colombia before applying or initiating the partnership. This hindered faculty agency in the partnership as U.S. partners were unsure what support they could provide and how best to engage their Colombian partners. Furthermore, U.S. faculty members described the challenges of establishing a partnership under the shadow of U.S. imperialism and the threat that it presented to their own credibility vis-à-vis their Colombian partners. Neither U.S. nor Colombian faculty members were heavily involved in the partnership design stage, which created a mix of uncertainty, confusion, and resentment about their roles and that of their partners. Faculty engagement in the HRP initially suffered as a result.

Faculty engagement gradually increased once partnership roles and responsibilities became clearer, participants developed more personal relationships, and activities got underway and started benefitting participants. In general, student and faculty interest and engagement in the HRP increased as positive experiences accumulated. Institutional policies and practices occasionally hindered faculty engagement over the course of the partnership, especially for junior and adjunct faculty with heavy workloads, insufficient professional capital, and limited familiarity with the inner workings of their institutions. Moreover, Colombian participants found that strong institutional cultures and inter-university competition made it difficult for them to work

with other universities. Working collaboratively and internationally presented many challenges, especially for faculty members with limited experience working in teams or insufficient cross-cultural and bilingual skills.

In addition to working across different institutional and cultural contexts, faculty members had to navigate different human rights contexts, legal systems, and clinic models. Many faculty members questioned why they were paired with such different partners in the first place as these differences greatly hindered their ability to collaborate. Faculty members credited their ability to overcome many of these obstacles to committed leaders with creative problem-solving skills, respectful and empathetic partners who emphasized the importance of equality and mutual benefits, and flexibility within the project to adapt to new circumstances and accommodate faculty perspectives.

As the partnership approached its final months, participants reflected on the benefits they gained from participation and their expectations of future engagement. Most participants were satisfied with their experience in the partnership and many wanted to see the partnership continue in some capacity. Several U.S. faculty participants mentioned the desire to build or continue research collaborations, while most Colombian participants wanted their human rights clinics to continue to thrive. Unfortunately, most faculty participants did not believe they would have the time or ability to remain highly engaged once their universities stopped receiving external funding and other activities competed for their time.

Institutional support for the clinics and international collaborations was identified as a key factor for continued Colombian faculty engagement. Since institutional commitment to the clinics or the partnership was not considered when selecting

Colombian university partners, many participants said that a critical assessment of university partner commitments, contributions, and benefits would be necessary to determine how the partnership should proceed in the absence of external funding.

U.S. faculty participants envisioned a much smaller and less dominant role for themselves in the partnership's future. According to the project director, this was the goal they been working toward all along. She believes the project was successful in building Colombian capacity to the extent that State University's role is no longer critical, although she would continue to offer support as requested. "State doesn't need to be involved, but if it provides them a level of international visibility and some sense of connection to resources in the Global North, then I'm really happy to maintain our presence," she explained. Many U.S. faculty members expressed the desire to maintain professional relationships with their Colombian partners and some already had plans for collaborative research projects. Even if their universities did not have the funds or desire to continue supporting faculty engagement in the long run, U.S. and Colombian participants believed that professional capacity and relationships were built and would likely be sustained in some form, although it was not yet clear to participants what their continued engagement would look like once the project ended.

U.S. and Colombian faculty engagement varied over the course of the partnership. Although geopolitical and partnership design factors cast a long shadow over faculty engagement, faculty reported increasing levels of agency and satisfaction as personal relationships developed and power dynamics gradually shifted from U.S. to Colombian participants. Institutional and geopolitical factors influenced faculty participation and capability beliefs for the entire duration of the partnership. The professional community

created by the partnership became an important source of support and agency for Colombian faculty members who had limited access to professional networks and international advocacy spaces before the HRP. Faculty anticipated that institutional dynamics would play a greater role in shaping faculty engagement once project funding—and the external supports and pressures it created—ended. The next section examines some of these key faculty engagement factors in greater detail.

Faculty engagement dimensions and factors. Examining faculty engagement along four different dimensions—the individual, institutional, project, and geopolitical dimensions—draws attention to the varied and overlapping influences on faculty engagement in university development partnerships.

Individual dimension. The participant sample was not sufficiently large or diverse to draw conclusions about the influences of gender, race/ethnicity, or disciplinary background. That said, some participants suggested that their disciplinary background partially determined whether the international and community service aspects of university development partnerships were relevant to their work as faculty members. Moreover, a few participants indicated that the nature of human rights work prepared them to be collaborative, empathetic, and patient—qualities that contributed to their individual and collective success in the HRP. Discipline as an engagement factor has been noted elsewhere (Demb & Wade, 2012; Childress, 2010; Vogelgesang, Denson, & Jayakumar, 2010; Antonio, Astin, & Cress, 2000) and is worth exploring in future studies that examine faculty engagement across different disciplines.

Faculty values and motivations were discussed as factors that influenced initial faculty engagement, particularly for U.S. faculty members who joined the partnership on

their own initiative. Knowledge, skills, and prior experiences related to human rights work, clinical teaching, community outreach, project management, teamwork, and international collaborations were all believed to influence faculty engagement and efficacy, though their relative importance varied depending on each faculty member's role in the partnership. In general, Colombian participants emphasized the importance of being open minded and collaborative while U.S. faculty members stressed the need for technical expertise in human rights, clinical methodology, and project management. This reflects their general partnership roles where Colombian faculty members worked closely with each other and their communities for the duration of the project, while many U.S. faculty members were engaged at specific times and for specific purposes based on their expertise.

Professional capital relates to the status and accomplishments that faculty members accumulate over time. It includes considerations such as level of education, faculty position or rank, tenure status, seniority or time in academia, and prior academic achievements. U.S. and Colombian participants differed greatly on this measure, with U.S. faculty participants possessing higher education levels, status, seniority, and significant academic accomplishments such as publications and grants. This was somewhat expected for a capacity building project in which U.S. participants were the designated experts and Colombian participants the intended beneficiaries. Other studies have identified structural and staffing constraints at Global South universities that contribute to this disparity (Thomas, 2013; Altbach, Reisberg, Yudkevich, Androushchak & Pacheco, 2012). But structural inequalities only partially explain the professional capital gap between U.S. and Colombian faculty members. Project design decisions and

institutional cultures more negatively impacted the autonomy and agency perspectives of Colombian faculty participants vis-à-vis their U.S. counterparts.

Junior and contingent (adjunct or contract) faculty participants with limited professional capital faced additional challenges to participation. An important difference was noted between U.S. and Colombian faculty participants in this regard. Most U.S. faculty members believed that participation was detrimental to junior tenure-track faculty who needed to build their professional capital and advance according to their institution's promotion and tenure process. Most Colombian participants, on the other hand, were contingent faculty with limited opportunities for professional development or advancement within their own institutions. For them, the HRP provided professional advancement opportunities outside of the traditional faculty promotion and tenure system. U.S. and Colombian participants faced different sets of opportunities and constraints in the partnership because their different levels of professional capital and institutional environments. This created a professional capital imbalance between U.S. and Colombian faculty members and solidified their unequal expert-beneficiary relationship.

Institutional dimension. Strong university cultures and inconsistent institutional policies and practices accounted for variations in faculty engagement within and across institutions. Belonging to strong institutional cultures with isolationist and competitive tendencies made it difficult for Colombian faculty members to collaborate with other universities in the HRP. Institutional size affected faculty engagement as smaller universities did not have a large pool of faculty members to choose from, which meant that participants did not always possess the desired qualifications and were often

overburdened. At the same time, faculty at the smallest university member were among the most engaged because the partnership provided opportunities they might not otherwise be able to access. Institutional types produced more nuanced influences on faculty engagement. Faculty at the two public universities reported more restrictions to hiring support staff, but more job security and autonomy in their individual roles. It was generally easier for private universities to hire new staff on a short-time or contract basis, but their faculty members reported less job security and greater restrictions on the type of work they could pursue. Although the pairing of very different institutions created some challenges and inefficiencies for the project, it also created a large and diverse professional network for faculty participants that they otherwise would not have accessed. Furthermore, learning to work across these differences proved to be a valuable experience for many Colombian participants.

Many faculty participants reported difficulties navigating the inner workings of their own institutions. Faculty engagement in the HRP was partially influenced by whether faculty believed the partnership fit within their scope of work and would count toward merit and promotion requirements. The amount of professional capital faculty members had accumulated influenced how effective they were at navigating institutional policies and procedures. In general, faculty members at large research universities and those with more professional capital reported more autonomy or flexibility in their work. Colombian participants were generally less equipped to work across institutional differences because they worked within strong institutional cultures and had less professional capital and fewer partnership experiences compared to their U.S. partners.

Project dimension. The project or partnership dimension draws attention to the influence of project decisions, actors, and activities as well as the overall design and structure of the partnership. Faculty members were minimally involved in the design phase, which limited faculty support and agency in the early stages of the partnership. The decision to create a partnership of universities rather than simply having universities work together to implement activities required faculty to spend most of their time managing partnership logistics and finding common ground with partners instead of implementing activities early in the partnership. Furthermore, the selection of drastically different institutional partners from different legal and cultural contexts made it difficult for faculty members to collaborate on HRP activities for the duration of the partnership. Additionally, the expert-beneficiary relationship and vertical structures of accountability created unequal power relations and strained partner relations. Early decisions about the partnership's design, structure, and activities were made without a lot of faculty input, even though these decisions had a profound influence on faculty engagement for the duration of the project.

Geopolitical dimension. The final dimension of the international faculty engagement model is the geopolitical dimension. The HRP placed faculty participants in the middle of a delicate human rights situation that was further complicated by vastly different political and cultural experiences. Many Colombian participants were highly critical of any U.S. influence given the U.S. government's complicated history of involvement in Colombian human rights and political affairs. Some faculty members had a difficult time distancing U.S. faculty members from the U.S. government, which strained initial faculty relations and engagement. The fact that U.S. faculty members were

brought into the partnership as experts even though it was the Colombian faculty members who had lived through decades of conflict created a lot of initial resentment and criticism that lessened with time due to a shared commitment to mutual learning and respect. Working across different legal systems, academic traditions, clinical education models, cultures, and languages were additional challenges that faculty members had to navigate in the geopolitical dimension. While geopolitical circumstances privileged the position of U.S. faculty partners going into the partnership, the success of the partnership depended on the willingness and ability of participants to work together despite their differences.

Summary. In general, U.S. partners enjoyed a privileged position within the partnership as they managed project funds, had more seniority than their Colombian partners, were fluent in English, and were more familiar with international development agencies, global academic standards, human rights communities of practice, and international advocacy spaces. This created disparities in power and access across the partnership, with Colombian faculty participants feeling more marginalized and less influential than their U.S. partners. This imbalance was partially offset by supportive U.S. partners, flexibility in implementation, and the creation of a Colombian sub-network which gave participants access to their own community of practice and sphere of influence in the project.

Paradoxically, while the exclusionary nature of the design phase and hierarchical partnership structure presented numerous barriers to faculty engagement in the project, the activities and professional network that resulted strengthened faculty agency in all other dimensions. Faculty reported increased capacity, professional advancement

opportunities, greater institutional support and international visibility for their work, and an improved ability to work in teams and across differences as a result of their participation. These gains increased faculty agency in their personal and professional lives—in the context of their universities as well as in the broader community and field of human rights.

Faculty Caught in the Middle

This study revealed a number of contradictions that faculty participants faced working within the human rights partnership (HRP). These tensions were particularly prevalent for Colombian faculty members who reported conflicts between their own professional advancement needs, the policies and practices of their institutions, the goals of the partnership, and local development realities. Four major tensions that also have relevance for faculty engaged in similar international university development partnerships (UDPs) are outlined below:

1. **Partnerships provide professional advancement opportunities within or outside of institutional promotion structures, but not always both.**

This study showed that U.S. and Colombian faculty members received different professional benefits to participation. Professional capital and institutional merit and promotion policies account for some of this difference. U.S. research faculty were often able to demonstrate a connection between their work on the HRP and their own academic duties. However, the time-consuming nature of international partnership work can delay professional advancement among junior and tenure-track faculty members. Consequently, junior faculty in the U.S. are frequently discouraged from participating in university development partnerships until after they have obtained tenure, a status that many

associate with greater job security and flexibility. The fact that most U.S. HRP participants were tenured mid-to-senior level faculty members reflects this reality.

Colombian faculty participants, on the other hand, were mostly junior contingent faculty with less job security, more limited options for professional development, and fewer chances of internal promotion. Previous research suggests that this is common in many Global South institutions (Thomas, 2013; Altbach et al., 2012). The World Bank (2002) affirms that approximately 86 percent of teachers at private universities and 60 percent of those at public universities across Latin America work part time and with limited job security. For faculty members with limited professional capital and limited job security, the professional development opportunities of university development partnerships may outweigh the risks of participation by offering faculty members a form of professional advancement beyond their institution's promotion structure.

Different professional incentive structures—a combination of one's professional status, institutional policies, and professional opportunities—help explain variations in faculty engagement within university development partnerships. These are important influences on faculty motivation and agency that should be considered in future UPDs. This finding also has implications for the theory of change implicit in many UPDs whereby faculty capacity development is viewed as a form of institutional strengthening. The limited professional capital and precarious employment conditions of beneficiary participants call into question whether faculty development is a viable and sustainable form of institutional strengthening in many developing countries. Further research is needed to understand faculty retention and long-term benefits to host institutions after partnerships end.

2. Global South faculty are simultaneously framed as disempowered beneficiaries and empowered agents of change.

Faculty members play a critical role in university development partnerships that simultaneously view Global South faculty members as the beneficiaries of capacity-building partnerships and agents of change within their universities. Faculty development gains are widely believed to translate into improvements in university classrooms, committees, and communities, as faculty members apply new knowledge and skills to their work in these areas. While there is considerable evidence to support this theory of change, insufficient attention is paid to the enormous structural constraints that faculty members face to bringing about such change. For example, Altbach (2004) has argued that the global system of higher education is characterized by deep inequalities that are often reinforced by globalization. "Structural dependency is endemic in much of the world's academic institutions," he observes (Altbach, 2004, p. 8). These inequalities and structural dependencies are the reason university development partnerships exist, yet the oversimplified narrative of faculty and institutional capacity building glosses over them. This situation places unrealistic expectations on Global South faculty participants, many of whom are ill-equipped to navigate the pressures and constraints of their own institutions, much less those of the global knowledge economy.

Keeping these inequalities in the foreground and cultivating partnerships that understand and take concrete steps to reduce these inequalities can help reduce the burden placed on faculty participants. The HRP created many opportunities for faculty members to collaborate as equal partners, though most happened by chance or through the commitment of certain individuals rather than by design. The HRP had some

promising approaches built-into its design, including the commissioning an institutional assessment to inform the partnership design and setting aside the first ninety days of the project for partners to meet, discuss, and revise implementation plans. But the execution was somewhat perfunctory and not implemented within a broader strategy or commitment to reduce inequalities across the partnership to have much consequence. Improved communication and broader inclusion of faculty members in the design process, attention to partner attitudes and collaborative approaches when selecting potential partners, and flexibility during implementation could help faculty in future partnerships start on more equal footing.

3. **Faculty efforts are torn between implementing project activities and developing a viable partnership.**

Partnership was a necessary condition for participation in the HRP, but the project did not provide sufficient attention nor support for partnership development. Willingness and ability to support the partnership were not explicitly addressed when selecting university partners and few, if any, project funds were set aside for the express purpose of partnership development. This created a dilemma for faculty partners with little to no familiarity with one another before the partnership, and, in the case of the Colombian participants, few partnership experiences to draw from. Nonetheless, much of the responsibility for partnership development fell on faculty participants with heavy workloads and no background in organizational development or sustainability planning. This overburdened faculty and reduced their sense of self-efficacy in the partnership.

The HRP exposes an inherent contradiction in university development partnerships that simultaneously aim to develop long-term partnerships and implement short-term

project activities. These goals can be complementary as good activities often follow from good relationships and successful activities demonstrate the value of partnership and increase stakeholder support. However, these goals often conflict and compete with one another in the short-term, as other partnership experiences have shown (Chapman et al., 2014). The short-term nature of most UDPs does not provide sufficient time to first develop a strong foundational relationship. Moreover, attention to the partnership structure can consume faculty time and impede the implementation of activities. Projects are likely to fall short of achieving both goals when they are pursued in tandem without a clear pathway for each goal.

If both short-term and long-term goals are equally important, it may be worth bringing in other partners to help plan for sustainability before the activities begin so partners know what they are agreeing to and faculty members can focus on what they do best—teaching, research, and service. This would free up faculty time to work on high-impact activities and increase their sense of self-efficacy, two important measures of faculty engagement. University development partnerships should also be more explicit about the partnership outcomes they seek and choose partners, allocate resources, and monitor progress accordingly. At the same time, partnership arrangements need to be flexible enough to adapt to changing circumstances and needs.

4. Global South faculty are caught between global pressures and local realities.

The fourth tension that Global South faculty experience in university development partnerships is the sense of being caught between global agendas and standards and on-the-ground realities. The HRP framed higher education capacity-building in human rights as a solution to Colombia's decades-long armed conflict and offered a suite of faculty,

curriculum, and program development interventions to build Colombia's capacity in this area. The problem and approach were identified by U.S. donors. USAID chose the issue of Colombia's armed conflict and strategy of human rights capacity building while HED designed a university partnership and activities based on the recommendations of a team of human rights academics. Colombian faculty participants were largely absent from this process, even as they were the intended project beneficiaries. This affected partnership engagement and outcomes in important ways. For example, when partners came together to select joint clinical cases, many Colombian faculty members expressed a preference for working on human rights issues that affected the everyday lives of people in their communities rather than focusing on the important but more remote and risky topic of Colombia's armed conflict. In this case, the expectations of the donors conflicted with the preferences of local participants.

This situation reflects a trend in which global elites increasingly frame local education and development challenges according to a narrower set of global development issues through the process of convergence and standardization (Ansell, 2015; Ilcan and Phillips, 2010). The result is that many international development programs and policies more closely align with donor goals than on-the-ground realities. In UPDs, it is the Global South faculty members who must ultimately balance these conflicts. In the case of the HRP, U.S. university partners played an intermediary role by supporting the decision of their Colombian partners to focus on other human rights issues even as USAID continued to assertively push the armed conflict agenda. This helped dissipate some of the tension that Colombian faculty members experienced. However, some could not help

but feel that they had failed to meet USAID's expectations even as the project achieved most of its stated objectives.

The academic aspirations of faculty participants exposed another tension between global expectations and local realities. Colombian faculty members and institutions face mounting pressures to conform to international academic standards in order to remain competitive—or at least relevant—within the global knowledge economy. Even though most Colombian participants were non-research faculty with heavy teaching responsibilities working at non-research institutions, they noted strong institutional pressures to conduct research and publish in highly-ranked journals. This phenomenon—where institutions model their research behaviors and standards after prestigious universities and faculty model the behaviors of research professors to climb the academic hierarchy—is known as "striving" among higher education scholars (O'Meara & Bloomgarden, 2011; Gonzales, 2014; Gardner, 2010).

There is currently a lot of debate about whether or not "cookie cutter, cut-and-paste academic careers based on Westernized educational systems and needs…are appropriate for the development needs of the developing world," noted a university partnership specialist. Again, it is the faculty members who straddle the fence between global standards and local needs. Working at the nexus of international development and higher education creates pressure for Global South faculty members to comply with global standards even as they conflict with the needs and realities of local institutions and communities.

Summary. The tensions that Global South faculty face within university development partnerships reflect a relatively new mechanism of governance in international

development that Lie (2015) calls "developmentality." Through the discourse of partnership, he argues, aid recipients become "accountable to the donor for implementing what are formally their own policies but in reality bear a heavy donor imprint" (Lie, 2015, p. 3-4). Global South faculty experience these tensions because the overall development framework they work in "is characterized by two conflicting logics: on the one hand the liberal agenda of empowering aid recipients to make their own decisions; on the other hand, the donors' need to exert control and promote their own policies," (Lie, 2015, p. 3). While some of these tensions are inherent in the design of university development partnerships, the case of the HRP showed how flexible projects and supportive partners can help lessen some of these tensions.

Research Contributions

While it is tempting, for the sake of simplicity and clarity, to draw clear boundaries around a case and narrow in on specific factors of faculty engagement, university development partnerships do not abide by such boundaries. They operate at the intersection of international development and higher education and span national, cultural, and institutional boundaries. By their nature, university development partnerships spin a complex web of historical, geopolitical, organizational, and interpersonal relationships. A number of research decisions helped me weave together a cogent narrative while still recognizing the unbounded and inherently complex nature of the case. These decisions have methodological, theoretical, and practical implications for future research and practice in the field of comparative and international development.

Methodologically, the comparative case study approach was a valuable contribution to this research because it enabled a rich account of faculty engagement in

one particular UDP while situating it within its broader historical, geopolitical, and policy context. Furthermore, the models of international faculty engagement and international university partnerships helped to situate this study in its specific and broader context. While they focused due attention on the different dimensions of faculty engagement and stages of partnership, these models were flexible enough to allow for an examination of the interconnectedness of the parts while looking at the whole. In practice, this study zoomed in and out of these different dimensions and stages in order to investigate intensely and compare widely during the data collection and analysis phases.

Each of the four dimensions of faculty engagement (individual and professional, institutional, partnership, and geopolitical) and five stages of international university partnerships (design, initiation, collaboration, and conclusion) yielded valuable insights and contributed to a more thorough understanding of faculty engagement. Privileging the perspectives of faculty members and their views of the opportunities and constraints they faced within the HRP produced rich and varied accounts of the multi-dimensional influences on faculty engagement. Furthermore, engaging faculty participants in retrospective reflection as they approached the final stage of the partnership generated valuable information about faculty engagement at each stage of the partnership and, in some instances, helped faculty members identify a causal map of events that produced new insights about their own engagement. When used as a heuristic—a general method of discovery rather than a strictly interpreted set of rules—these models can support a critical and comprehensive analysis of faculty engagement in similar partnerships that transcend dimensions of power, time, and space.

This study took a bottom-up approach to data collection and analysis in which interviews were conducted and coded in the reverse order of an interviewee's perceived influence over the partnership design, starting with Colombian faculty members. This helped to foreground the voices and experiences of those whose perspectives are less represented in the relevant university partnership literature and policies. This strategy helped me—a researcher from the Global North—be mindful and critical of the tendency for international development and higher education policies and practices to flow from North to South. The decision to interview Global South and Global North faculty members helped put their perspectives and actions in context and in dialogue with one another, resulting in a rich and multifaceted understanding of faculty engagement in UDPs.

Agency proved to be a useful concept for examining issues of faculty engagement across these dimensions and stages. The concept of agency calls attention to the ways in which individual perspectives and behaviors are shaped and reshaped in social and political contexts. A focus on agency supports a critical examination of the structural constraints on faculty within UPDs, but does not underestimate the power of individuals to engage with and transform those very structures—a point at which some critical studies fall short. After all, partnerships are constructed and deconstructed by social actors. The primary motivation for this research was to better understand the structural constraints operating within UDPs in order to identify windows of opportunities to ensure these partnerships work for the benefit of all participants. Focusing on faculty agency perspectives and behaviors within and across the HRP accomplished that goal.

The focus on agency also revealed important areas in need of further exploration. For example, the role of professional capital in perpetuating or overcoming inequalities within UDPs merits further attention and analysis. In this study, professional capital emerged as a unifying concept to tie together the various markers of professional status that influenced faculty engagement. These include academic credentials, accomplishments, and rankings such as educational degrees, publications, grants, and tenure status. These markers of professional status are highly valued in academia and their accumulation further elevates one's professional status.

Access to other professionals with knowledge, information, and status—commonly known as social capital—is another important element of professional capital that influenced faculty engagement in the HRP. This study found that the HRP expanded the social capital of Colombian participants on at least three levels by 1) supporting a tightly-knit local network of human rights professors 2) developing a relationship between U.S. and Colombian faculty members, and 3) introducing Colombian faculty participants to international advocacy spaces and norms.

Another aspect of professional capital that emerged as a relevant factor for faculty engagement is what Hargreaves and Fullan describe as "decisional capital" or "the ability to make discretionary judgements" (2012, p. 93). Beyond possessing the requisite human capital (relevant knowledge, skills, and experiences) and having access to valuable forms of social capital (professional and international advocacy networks), U.S. faculty members had more discretionary authority or autonomy to define the terms of their engagement in the HRP. Colombian faculty did not enjoy as much autonomy within their own institutions, which reduced their sense of agency in the HRP. Furthermore,

Colombian faculty participants were not engaged in the project in a decision-making capacity until their U.S. faculty counterparts granted them that space and authority after the partnership was already formed—another example of U.S. faculty members possessing more professional capital than their Colombian counterparts. Engaging Colombian faculty members and giving them more decisional capacity in the partnership design stage could have increased their perceived value and status by framing them as part of the solution rather than simply the project beneficiaries.

The findings of this study support Hargreaves and Fullan's (2012) formula in which professional capital is the sum of human capital, social capital, and decisional capital. While human capital development is an underlying rationale for UDPs that aim to build faculty and institutional capacity, the roles of social capital and decisional capital merit more attention and analysis. Attention to these forms of capital may help level the playing field for faculty participants in North-South partnerships such as the HRP, while ignoring them risks reinforcing the structural inequalities already in place.

This study also affirms the importance of empathy and the potential of individual participants to reduce and even reverse the power dynamics inherent within many North-South partnerships. This is perhaps the greatest advantage of an agentic lens of faculty engagement—it allows for a more thorough and critical examination of individual perspectives, actions, and relationships across and through the many structures and stages of university development partnerships. In the process, it reveals windows of opportunity to transform those structures and rethink those stages. The next and final section explores the role of empathy in greater detail and concludes with a reflection on opportunities for individuals working within such partnerships to make them a little more equitable. The

intent is not to place undue burden on faculty participants, but to inspire debate and action among all individuals working in this space to create more engaging and successful university development partnerships.

Practical Implications: Bending Toward Justice

"The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice."
Martin Luther King Jr.

This study has revealed that Global South faculty are indeed at a greater disadvantage than their Global North partners in the areas of international development and higher education. University development partnerships that sit at the crossroads of international development and higher education, therefore, represent a convergence of disadvantage for Global South faculty. And yet the experience of the HRP shows that these partnerships can also offer Global South faculty—especially the more entrepreneurial among them—a promising path forward. Faculty participants reported increases in human rights knowledge and teaching capacity, professional advancement opportunities, institutional and international visibility for their work, and an improved ability to work in teams and across differences as a result of their participation. These gains expanded faculty capabilities in their personal and professional lives. Only time will tell if these benefits strengthen faculty positions within their universities over the long-term or if faculty must look elsewhere to take advantage of their expanded set of capabilities.

The success of the HRP is also a testament to the power of the individual faculty members who operate within these partnerships and the inequalities and structural constraints the partnerships embody. In implementing the HRP, U.S. and Colombian

faculty participants individually and collectively decided which rules they would follow and which they would protest, sometimes quietly, sometimes loudly. Colombian faculty agency perspectives were enhanced through the solidarity they found in a sub-network of Colombian human rights faculty members that the project created. Their positions were strongest when they also received support from empathetic faculty partners in the U.S. who listened to them, learned alongside them, encouraged them, and stood with them as they sought greater visibility and legitimacy in the partnership and international field of human rights. The importance of solidarity and empathy in creating more successful North-South partnerships is reinforced by Silk (2013), who argues:

> When we fail to act according to the imperative of empathy, we ultimately fail as individuals, affected by our complex individual constellations of attitudes, ego, interests, beliefs, strengths and weaknesses, including, yes, our place in the North-South dynamic. Without considering the role of the imperative of empathy and the human capacity to embrace it, we risk giving into a powerful tyranny of geographic and historical determinism. (p. 58)

Following Silk's argument, the historical North-South relationship is a part of every individual and it is the actions of faculty members within such partnerships that reinforce, reduce, or reverse the direction of subordination.

The project director's own theory of change about the HRP and the field of human rights parallels this sentiment. Recalling Martin Luther King Junior's quote, "the arc of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice," she says, "the only thing that keeps it moving on that arc of the moral universe and bending is individuals who feel that they have the knowledge and skills and the passion that they need to make a

difference in whatever circles they find themselves." University partnerships and human rights are complicated and imperfect, but it is the sustained and principled actions of individuals that support progress, however slow.

This dissertation concludes with a reflection on some opportunities to bend that arc toward more engaging, equitable, and successful university development partnerships. From the very beginning, donors could strengthen faculty engagement in UDPs by including local faculty members in the issue selection and design stage to ensure the project is both relevant and feasible. This might have avoided the conflict that the HRP faced when many Colombian participants did not want to focus on human rights cases dealing with the armed conflict as USAID had intended. It is also important to pay attention to faculty motivations and agency and how they shift over the course of the partnership, particularly as faculty members' professional and institutional circumstances change.

Having open and honest discussions about the purpose of the project and expectations of university partners early on can also help increase faculty awareness and institutional buy-in. The HRP struggled in the beginning as Colombian partners were uncertain of their role or why they had been selected. Institutional commitment to the partnership did not appear to be a point of discussion or factor in the selection of Colombian partners and faculty indicated that their engagement suffered when their institutions were not fully committed. Some U.S. faculty participants expressed discomfort in controlling the activity budget and monitoring their partner's progress, because this role undercut their ability to collaborate as equal partners. One faculty participant suggested making the monitoring system less burdensome or setting it up so

that faculty in the U.S. and Colombia play a role in monitoring joint activities and each other.

It would also be beneficial for donors to specify in the beginning the form of sustainability they seek so that they can select partners and allocate project resources accordingly. The donors made it the responsibility of the U.S. partners to plan for sustainability, but gave very little guidance on what that process might look like. Furthermore, by the time U.S. partners were selected, the project objectives and Colombian university partners had already been identified, which meant that sustainability was not taken into consideration at these critical stages.

Empathy, a critical perspective, and a commitment to mutual learning proved to be important attributes of U.S. faculty partners that strengthened overall faculty engagement in the HRP. Although it would be difficult for faculty in future partnerships to simply adopt these traits, donors can seek out these traits in potential partners. Asking applicants for a statement on their philosophy on partnerships or approach to North-South collaborations is one possibility. Recognizing and emphasizing the expertise that exists on both sides of the partnership may also help demonstrate the importance of mutuality and reciprocity in university development partnerships. The HRP's narrow framing of U.S. faculty partners as experts and Colombian faculty partners as beneficiaries put a lot of pressure on U.S. faculty and minimized the contributions of Colombian faculty, which negatively impacted faculty engagement early in the project. Furthermore, while it is unlikely that future partnerships will be able to give partners enough time to fully understand and appreciate the context in which their partners work, emphasizing the

importance of mutual learning and carving out space in the project for faculty members to share their experiences could help.

Throughout the partnership, faculty indicated that support from their institutions was critical to their engagement. Dedicated time and recognition of partnership work, as reflected in faculty employment agreements and evaluations, helped faculty more fully engage in the HRP. This was an area where the HRP had leverage over member universities and exercised it for the good of the project. During the negotiation stage, the U.S. director insisted that all Colombian universities dedicate at least fifty percent of one faculty member's time to the HRP. This helped communicate to the deans the importance and time-intensive nature of partnership work and freed up faculty time to work on the HRP. It remains to be seen whether university partners will continue supporting faculty engagement over the long-term when the university is no longer receiving external funding, but it was at least successful in the short-term when faculty time was most in demand.

Having enough flexibility during the implementation stage to take advantage of new opportunities, adapt to changes, and make improvements can also strengthen faculty agency and engagement in UPDs. U.S. and Colombian faculty participants both said that this was important to them and contributed to their success in the HRP. This flexibility also supported two key developments that were not anticipated in the partnership's original design, but helped strengthen faculty engagement and success. First, the project originally proposed a more hierarchical network structure, with the U.S. university partnering with two lead consortium partners who would then support two sub-partners. However, during the partnership negotiation stage, the university partners determined that

it would be more equitable if all four Colombian universities formed one consortium that worked directly with the U.S. university. This decision gave the impression that all four Colombian partners had equal standing within the partnership and supported the development of a sizeable Colombian university network. Second, the ability to rethink and re-budget proposed activities gave Colombian partners a greater role in the planning process and allowed them to draw on more local expertise than what was originally proposed. The adjusted strategy of working through international mechanisms such as the United Nations also helped to create a more neutral space for U.S. and Colombian partners to collaborate and put a spotlight on Colombian faculty expertise.

The conclusion of a partnership provides a valuable opportunity for critical reflection on past and future faculty engagement. Faculty reported different barriers to engagement throughout the project and had different ideas about the activities and benefits they wanted to or believed they could sustain over the long term. There is much that donors can learn about faculty engagement and partnership sustainability through the process of reflection. Furthermore, it allows partners to critically evaluate the purpose of the partnership and their interest and ability to sustain it. As the HRP demonstrates, this does not always happen when partnerships are initially formed, and even when it does, values and commitments change as circumstances and relationships evolve.

By exploring faculty engagement across different dimensions and over the course of the human rights partnership, this study aimed to provide a framework for examining and expanding faculty engagement in university development partnerships. It also highlights the need to critically examine faculty motivation and agency in university development partnerships, particularly from the perspective of Global South participants

who are inadequately represented at the top of global policy and academic hierarchies. This study closes with a call for scholars and practitioners of various forms of international development partnerships to practice empathy, keep a critical perspective, and remain steadfast in the search for more equitable and mutually beneficial collaborations.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Faculty Interview Protocol (English & Spanish)

Demographic Information

- Faculty name:
- Position:
- Department:
- University:
- Years at this University:
- Academic background/highest degree:
- Gender:
- Partnership members since:

Información Demográfica

- Nombre:
- Posición (e.g. profesor)
- Departamento (e.g. derecho)
- Universidad:
- Años en esta universidad:
- Formación académica / grado más alto:
- Sexo (hombre/mujer):
- Miembro de la alianza desde:

Initial Faculty Engagement

1) To begin, can you please describe what your role is in this partnership?

2) How did you learn about this project?

3) What motivated you to join this partnership?
    a. Have your expectations been met thus far?

4) What prior experiences or skills influenced your decision to get involved?
    a. Had you been involved in other IUPs like this before? How many?

5) What skills or experiences do you believe are important for faculty to be effective in international partnerships such as this one?

La participación individual

1) Para empezar, ¿podría describir su papel en esta alianza?

2) ¿Cómo se enteró de este proyecto?

3) ¿Qué motivó a usted a unirse a esta alianza?
    a. ¿Hasta ahora, sus expectativas se han cumplido?

4) ¿Cuáles experiencias previas o habilidades suyas influyeron en su decisión de participar?
    a. ¿Usted ha participado en otras alianzas universitarias internacionales como ésta? ¿Cuántas?

5) ¿Qué habilidades o experiencias cree usted que son importantes para ser eficaz en alianzas internacionales como ésta?

University Engagement

6) Could you describe how <u>your university</u> (or the 4 Antioquia universities) became involved in this partnership?
    a. What was the process like?
        i. How did the opportunity arise?
        ii. Who led this effort and how?
    b. Are other schools/departments involved? Why or why isn't this the case?

La participación de las universidades

6) ¿Podría describir cómo <u>su universidad</u> hizo (o las 4 universidades de Antioquia hicieron) parte de esta alianza?
    a. ¿Cómo fue el proceso?
        i. ¿Cómo surgió la oportunidad?
        ii. ¿Quiénes condujeron este esfuerzo y cómo?
    b. ¿Están involucrados otras facultades o departamentos? ¿Por qué o por qué no es éste el caso?

Individual Agency & Influence

7) On a scale of 1 to 10 (with 1 being "lowest" and 10 being "highest") how much <u>voice/influence</u> do you feel that you have in the partnership?
    a. Could you please explain why you chose this number?

8) What factors limit your ability to participate as effectively as you would like?
    a. E.g. language, experience, location, professional network, workload
    b. Do you believe this differs for your colleagues at other universities? How so?

9) What kinds of support (from your university or the program) would be helpful?

La agencia y la influencia

7) En una escala del 1 al 10 (dónde 1 es "más bajo" y 10 es "más alto") cuánta voz / influencia cree usted que tiene en la alianza?
    a. ¿Podría explicar por qué eligió ese número?

8) ¿Qué factores limitan su capacidad de participar tan eficazmente como le gustaría?

a. Por ejemplo, su idioma, experiencia, ubicación, red de profesionales, carga de trabajo, etc.
b. ¿Cree usted que esto es diferente para sus colegas en otras universidades**?** ¿Cómo o por qué?

9) ¿Qué tipo de apoyo (de su universidad o del proyecto) le ayudaría?

Challenges & Accomplishments

10) What would you say are the most significant challenges this project has encountered?
    a. How were they addressed, if at all?

11) What has this partnership accomplished thus far that you are most proud of?
    a. To what do you attribute this success? Can you point to any specific decisions or activities that helped accomplish this?

Los desafíos y los logros

10) ¿En su opinión, cuáles son los desafíos más grandes que este proyecto ha encontrado?
    a. ¿Se han resuelto? ¿Y cómo (se resolvieron)?

11) ¿De lo que ha logrado esta alianza hasta ahora, qué es de lo que usted está más orgullos@?
    a. ¿A qué usted atribuye este éxito? ¿Podría indicar decisiones o actividades específicas que hayan ayudado a lograr esto?

Institutional Engagement Factors

12) What impact has this partnership had on your university?
(How has your university benefitted from participating in this partnership?)

13) On a scale of 1-10, how highly would you say your university values your participation in this partnership? Why did you choose that number?
    a. Is internationalization in the university's mission statement?
    b. Is community service in the university's mission statement?

14) How does your university support or encourage faculty participation?
    a. Is there a central office that reviews or advises these types of partnerships?
    b. Do faculty get promotions or special accommodations (teaching relief) for participating?
    c. How could your university further support faculty participation?

Factores institucionales

12) ¿Qué impacto ha tenido esta alianza en su universidad?
(¿Cómo se ha(n) beneficiado la(s) universidad(es) de la participación en esta alianza?)

13) ¿En una escala de 1-10, como diría que su universidad valora la participación de profesores en esta alianza? ¿Por qué eligió ese número?
    a. ¿Es la internacionalización una misión de la universidad?
    b. ¿Es servicio a la comunidad una misión de la universidad?

14) ¿Cómo su universidad fomenta la participación del profesorado?
    a. ¿Hay una oficina que revisa o asesora acerca de este tipo de alianzas?
    c. ¿Los profesores obtienen promociones o acomodaciones especiales para participar?
    d. ¿Cómo su universidad (las universidades de esta alianza) podría(n) apoyar más la participación del profesorado?

Sustained Engagement/Long-term Impact

15) What do you hope will become of this partnership in 5 years?
    a. What activities do you hope will be continued?
    b. What long-term impact do you hope it achieves?
    c. How do you plan to remain involved with this partnership, if at all?

16) If you had the opportunity to create this partnership from scratch, would you do anything differently? How?

Participación sostenida/impacto a largo plazo

15) ¿Qué es lo que espera que sea de esta alianza en 5 años?
    b. ¿Cuáles actividades le gustaría continuar?
    c. ¿Qué impacto a largo plazo usted espera que logre esta alianza?
    d. ¿Cómo planea seguir participando en el largo plazo (en caso de que participe)?

16) Si tuvieras la oportunidad de crear esta alianza desde cero, ¿lo haría de manera diferente? ¿Cómo?